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FREE WORLD

OCTOBER, 1944

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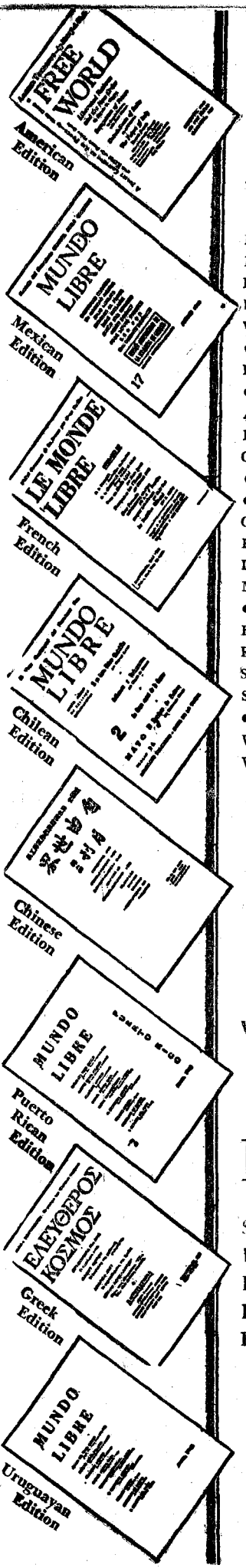

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A Monthly Magazine

devoted to

Democracy and World Affairs

Published in eight editions

VOLUME VIII, No. 4 **OCTOBER, 1944**

Mankind Against the Sky (Poem) . . . . . E. G. Heissenbuttel 296
Editorials:
The Common Man's Revenge . . . . . Louis Dolivet 297
International Intellectual Cooperation . . . . . Li Yu Ying 299
Comrades of the Great Invasion . . . . . Alain de la Nieppe 301
Argentina's Underground versus a New Fascist Empire . Guillermo Korn 304
War—As It Looks to China's "Little" Man . . . . . Jean Lyon 307
That France May Live . . . . . Maurice Chourot 311
My Trip to the Battlefronts . . . . . R. J. Thomas 317
United Nations—Till Peace Do Us Part? . . . . . Norman Angell 320
Round Table No. 27: Dumbarton Oaks—and After? 323
Burnet Hershey, Leon Henderson, William Hillman,
Sir Willmott Lewis, Pertinax, Paul Scott Rankine, Richard Strout.
Nations' Stake in American Reconversion . . . . . Robert R. Nathan 335
Beveridge's New Plan for Full Employment . . . . . Honor Balfour 339
World TVA'S—New Frontiers for Peace . . . . . James E. Murray 343
Prodigal Romania Returns to Her Old Allies . . . . . Charles Davila 346
German Cartel-Kings, Tomorrow's Turn-Coats . . . . . Albert Norden 349
Greece on the Road to Unity . . . . . Basil Vlavianos 355
Free World's Thumbnail Definitions: The Fascist Mind 360
Building the World Brain . . . . . Oliver L. Reiser 363
Our Goal Unity—But Germans Are Unfit . . . . . Albert Einstein 370
Faith and Reason in Double Harness . . . . . C. H. Waddington 371
Books:
Macnimsey Will Beat the Japs . . . . . John Goette 376
The Truth About Germany . . . . . Leo Lania 379
From Vichy to Paris . . . . . Emile Buré 380

Drawings by DePauw, Dolbin, Fraydas, Kraus, Lazzari, Margaret, Tom

FREE WORLD is owned and published monthly by FREE WORLD, INC., Chairman, Dr. Li Yu Ying; Executive Vice Chairman, Hugh Moore; Vice Chairman J. Alvarez del Vayo; Treasurer, Frederick C. McKee; Secretary, Dr. Wousafong, 144 Bleecker Street, New York 12, N. Y. 40 cents a copy: $4.00 a year: $7.00 two years $9.00 three years; Canadian and foreign postage $1.00 a year additional. Volume VIII, Number 4; October, 1944. Copyright, 1944 by FREE WORLD, INC. All rights reserved; reproduction in whole or in part prohibited without permission. Unsolicited manuscripts will not be returned unless accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope. FREE WORLD is printed in the United States of America by Charles Francis Press, Inc., New York City. Entered as second class matter September 17, 1941, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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Mankind Against The Sky

You cannot draw the curtain, bolt the door,
Or set the guard and say: "We are alone.
Now we can scissor maps, and jumble up
The peoples of the earth, confuse their days,
And, in our fears, confound them."

No secrecy for you who make the peace:
You are so set about by witnesses;
The secrets of your thoughts will be pick-locked,
And motives, lurking from behind the deed,
Shall have omniscience for their body-guard.

Do nothing now in fear. Let clear away
From off the frustrate brain the fumes of war;
Let pass the fox-hole dread, the huddled crouch
Of common fear gone underground. These are
The desperations of the brink, the last
Mad clutch, the claw-like cling upon the edge,
Ere man shall utterly be prone, and stretched,
And flat upon his earth.

Build not on these—on secrecy and fear;
But let the sunrise break across the world,
As when, twixt two upon a lonely hill,
A central cross uprose and placed, in love,
Mankind against the sky!

E. G. HEISSENBUTTEL

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EDITORIALS

The Common Man's Revenge

WE, the "impractical idealists," believers in the world community, in the greatness of the common people, will be forgiven, I hope, if we take a few moments to explain to the ultra-cynics and reactionaries the lesson of what has been happening in the last few weeks in Europe. We do this not in a triumphant I-told-you-so mood but in the earnest desire to draw some conclusions for the future which will affect them and us alike.

First of all, we draw their attention to the perfect cooperation, common planning and timing of the United Nations armies and their General Staffs. American, British, Canadian, French, Belgian and other United Nations units accepted and followed to the letter the orders of the common Chief of the Invasion Forces—an American. No one complained about his nationality, no one called him a foreigner, no one tried to make it a one-man show. It was perfect team-work of ten nationalities fighting peacefully together—if this term may be used—as they always should live together. Between them and the relentless Soviet Armies of the East there was equal cooperation, the air shuttle service being the living bridge between them. Only the gasoline and bombs in the airplanes changed their nationality en route. On the way to Russia the gasoline and the bombs were American; on the way back they were Russian. The target—fascism—remained the same.

Secondly, we draw the attention of the cynics, reactionaries and "realists" to the performance of the people and of the democratic movements in freed Europe.

Four weeks of freedom after four years of slavery have sufficed for the French people to demonstrate to the world again that France is and remains one of the permanent pillars of democracy. The effective contribution of the people of Paris to the freeing of their capital was much more than an act of military importance; it was a reaffirmation of the fact that freedom remains one of the strongest human motives. Paris took the lead, but she was not alone. Marseilles, Lyons, Toulouse and thousands of other towns throughout France followed her example.

In these four weeks France has won back almost everything in esteem, admiration and democratic leadership in Europe which defeat and a traitorous government had lost for her in four years.

Every Allied soldier who participated in the liberation of France and Belgium must surely have shared with the people some of those deep emotions which human beings very rarely experience, they must have felt a greatness that will compensate them for many past and future hardships.

Our cynical friends who considered the Underground as "Hollywood stuff" or propaganda of the Allied Information Services should ask General Eisenhower's headquarters how many soldiers' lives were saved by the people. They should also look again and again at the newsreels from Paris and try to understand what idealism is capable of. The men and women in front of the Hotel de Ville in Paris were not politicians striving for power.

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They knew that their recompense—if they survived—would not be a government seat but their usual bench in the factory, the counter in the shop, the typewriter in the office. They even knew that in a few days they would be freed without any risk to themselves by the powerful Allied armies then at the gates of Paris. But they were impatient; they wanted to do their share.

This impatience to attain freedom, this desire to share danger, to make equal sacrifices—this sense of participation, gentlemen cynics, is the basic foundation of every democratic movement everywhere in the world.

Don't try to explain that there were no politics in these people's movements, that they were merely expressions of an ardent nationalism very much like yours, because you would again go wrong. You wouldn't be able to explain why the people have saved so many American and British airmen at the risk of their own lives. You wouldn't be able to explain why they have hidden within their families refugees—Greeks, Poles, Spaniards and Jews—whom you call foreigners, with an unpleasant nuance, and when ladies are not present you add the word "dirty." You wouldn't be able to explain why every Underground program clamors for democracy, for equality of all men and women without distinction of race, color or creed. You wouldn't be able to explain why the majority of the Underground leaders came from the ranks of movements that have taught those principles of human brotherhood which you despise so much.

The truth is that the common man, in whose courage, sense of sacrifice, generosity and political ability you did not believe, has risen, during that fascist enslavement which was meant to break him, to gigantic stature. He has learned to understand many of his own mistakes and narrow views, those of his own and other governments. He has learned to understand that democracy and its benefits, both in the political and in economic fields, are not given freely but that one has to fight for them constantly—to fight for them not only in political or military battles but also to fight for them by becoming more generous and by achieving a higher degree of education. That is why from everywhere in free Europe there comes a great clamor for the widest possible extension of education. People know what education means, what a powerful instrument education is for the maintenance and deepening of democracy.

In those lands that have been freed the people have given an amazing demonstration of their sense of justice by dominating their hatred for a pitiless enemy—torturers, murderers and traitors—and by waiting, with few exceptions, for regular tribunals to render justice. They have also proved their administrative ability in cities and towns, taken from the enemy or abandoned by him, which for weeks now have been functioning better under the resistance forces than they did under the "order" of fascism. Instead of the disorder, breakdown and bolshevization of Europe with which nazi Germany threatened the Western world, there is an amazing order being maintained by those who only yesterday were called "bandits" and "terrorists."

Thus a better Europe is emerging from the nightmare of fascism—a Europe that is determined to establish a rejuvenated democracy which will be capable of securing simultaneously freedom and prosperity for the people. This new Europe is determined to support in the fullest measure possible an effective international organization which will be equipped to break

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every attempt at aggression. The notion of absolute sovereignty has lost its meaning for the people of the European countries, and they are ready to empower the international organization to act on their behalf against the violators of international law.

This new Europe is filled with a deep admiration and affection for the people of the United States, Russia and Great Britain, and for a long time to come it will be hard for anyone to stand up in a meeting and attack these countries. It will be equally hard to stand up and preach racial discrimination, hatred of minorities and the other appendices of fascism. The common man of Europe is more immune to a revival of fascism under a new name than are the citizens of countries that have remained free of fascist occupation. He has learned to recognize the fascist mind, and is determined to make his own country and the world better—to make forever impossible the return of fascism.

This is his revenge!

LOUIS DOLIVET

International Intellectual Cooperation

THE Dumbarton Oaks Conference is the first decisive step toward the establishment of an international organization for the preservation of peace. It appears that the political and military problems have been examined quite carefully, but there is one of which no mention has been made until now and which is an indispensable part of any permanent world organization, namely, international intellectual cooperation.

There are undoubtedly people who will say that intellectual values were unable to prevent World War II, and that they will also be powerless to prevent World War III. They will also say that security is the first preoccupation, and that everything else must be left for later. However, security is composed not only of military, legal, political and economic guarantees, it also has in it an important moral and intellectual element which it would be fatal to continue to neglect.

The importance of science, philosophy, sociology, art and education in the formation of any ideology is such that they can no longer be considered as negligible factors. There must be an organized cooperation among them, overreaching the boundaries of countries and uniting the best brains of the world in a common purpose for progress.

In the past, some attempts were made in the old League to encourage intellectual cooperation. In the Assembly of the League of Nations it was the Fifth Commission that was charged with discussing these problems. There was also, under the auspices and with the cooperation of the League, the International Commission for Intellectual Cooperation. And, finally, the well-known Institute of International Intellectual Cooperation functioned in Paris, where it found its major support.

These attempts were unsuccessful for three reasons: first of all because the member powers of the League were no more inclined to let this activity become a powerful instrument than they were to favor collective security.

Secondly, there was an accepted theory that intellectual preoccupations must stand aloof from political facts, from collective security, and from ideological problems. This writer remembers how surprised most of the

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members of the above mentioned Fifth Commission of the Assembly of the League of Nations were in 1939, when as a representative of China he protested against the abandonment of Czechoslovakia to Hitler Germany. Most of his colleagues seemed to indicate that they did not think it was within the competence of a commission dealing with intellectual problems to touch upon such a "political matter" as the abandonment of a member of the League of Nations to a powerful aggressor.

The third one was the attempt at universality, consisting in the admission of all countries—even fascist countries—into the councils of international cooperation. One can imagine how constructive the cooperation of Italian representatives was in a meeting whose avowed aim it was to develop free thought all over the world.

Of course, in the future all these mistakes must be avoided if international intellectual cooperation shall really become successful. Intellectual preoccupations must be allowed to touch on every human problem, everywhere, and no fascist or like representative should be permitted to sit in those councils.

At present there is a splendid chance to revive the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation, whose headquarters are in Paris. These premises had been occupied by the Germans, who had tried to take over the Institute and use it as a nazi propaganda instrument in South America. Mr. Henri Bonnet, who was President of the Institute before the war, and who energetically opposed every Nazi-Vichy attempt to use it for nazi ideologies, is at present in Paris. Until recently, he has been a member of the Provisional French Government. Among the other leaders of the Institute are Professor Gilbert Murray and President Edouard Herriot, the latter of whom we hope will soon be freed. They could be requested in an official manner by the United Nations to call a first conference for international intellectual cooperation. Such a conference would be of utmost importance at a moment when we will have to undertake the gigantic task not only of rebuilding what the barbarians have destroyed but also of developing the intellectual foundations of world conciousness.

LI LU YING

Relief for the Italian People

ALL reports arriving from Italy—American, English, French and Italian—indicate that the economic situation of Italy is nearing desperation. The Nazis and Italian Fascists have done such a thorough job of destruction that it will take quite a long time before Italy can recover from the consequences of a war into which her fascist government led her.

But now Italy is no longer fascist. The people in their overwhelming majority have proved that they are opposed to fascism, and the present government is doing everything in its power to support the Allied war effort. Therefore it is the duty of the United Nations to grant relief to democratic Italy.

We hope that the UNRRA will not be stopped by technicalities and outdated limitations, but will relieve the desperate situation of the Italian people. We cannot give fascism, even in its dying stages, the satisfaction of being able to say that the people ate better under its administration than they are able to do now, after being freed.

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Comrades of the Great Invasion

By

ALAIN DE PRELLE DE LA NIEPPE

FROM LONDON comes this story of war's fellowship, by a Belgian correspondent with the British. He sees something bigger emerging in Europe today than the mere hope of victory over the Nazis—the sense of brotherhood of men of many lands.

AMERICAN boys from Brooklyn and Montana, from California and Illinois, in their march to Germany have found comrades in arms from all the European nations: the French soldiers of General Koenig, Belgian commandos, Polish tank corpsmen, Dutch fliers, hard-boiled Canadians, and British fighters eager to avenge Dunkirk and the robot-bomb murders.

General Eisenhower likes to speak of the men under his command as the "United Nations armies." And although no one would deny the overwhelming strength of the Americans in this liberation crusade, nothing is truer than this expression.

Fraternity in arms, and in spirit, has been characteristic of the invasion, beginning with D-day. From the start, it has been a United Nations enterprise. Men of many languages, but all thinking the same thoughts . . . able to coordinate their will to Victory, on the land and on the sea. Striking together for a common purpose across the rough waters of the British Channel, across the beaches of Normandy, into the heart of a continent held in bondage, to set it free.

I saw what that close comradeship meant just after the smoke of the first invasion surge had cleared. D-day had been over for forty-eight hours. The British naval unit to which I am attached had left the coast of Normandy to pitch anchor in a great military port on the southern coast of England. But only for a few hours, the time to take on a new cargo of food and munitions, fill up with oil and be off again toward France. Short as was our stop at the base, half the crew had been given a few hours' shore leave . . . and I was one of the lucky ones.

The minute my feet touched land, I headed for a bar called the "Arms of Wellington," better known to sailors as the "Inter-Allied Bar," because the crowds of men in all manner of foreign uniforms who swarmed in the town were accustomed to gathering there.

IT was seven at night when I walked into the bar, and I noticed at once that the place, never one to have a prayer-meeting atmosphere, this evening was overflowing its rim with high spirits. With a good deal of trouble I started working my way toward the rail to order a glass, but before I could make it, a French sailor, noticing the word "Belgium" on my shoulder, slapped a broad hand on me and cried out joyfully: "Ha, a Belgian . . . that's all that was left out! A great job we helped pull off over there, eh? Come on and help us celebrate!"

Before I could open my mouth to reply,

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I was one of his buddies. Believe it or not, in the group around him there were three French sailors with the famous red pompon on their berets; two Australian aviators in blue uniforms, two Polish sailors with the white eagle on their caps; a few Norwegian sailors with blue pompons and Dutchmen with long ribbons floating in their necks; several British, American and Canadian soldiers, a Greek sailor, and even a Yugoslav.

They were in gay mood. By now there was no doubt: the "Atlantic Wall" had been forced, the bridgehead in Normandy would hold, a great step toward Victory had been taken. There was a general impression that it hadn't been as bad as everyone thought it would be . . . far from it. It had been hot, yes, but not to compare with the fantastic predictions and illustrations in the British press.

It was the Yanks' turn to treat, and they did it in fine style. Twenty huge mugs of beer passed from hand to hand till everyone was served. With broad grins, under the motherly eye of the bar's proprietress, we raised our mugs and quaffed a toast to D-day, each in his own tongue.

After a long draught, conversation began to warm up. And there was something remarkable about this brotherhood of arms, for these men from the far corners of the globe were not satisfied to talk with their own nationals. Each made an effort to say something in the language of the ally nearest to him.

I said, "Dzien Dobre" to the giant Polish naval gunner, and he smilingly replied "Bonjour." The Dutchman at my left chuckled and said, "Goeden avond," and then we three all but wore ourselves out trying to converse in his language. For my part, I dug down into memories of prison in Spain to fish up some forgotten Polish phrases; and still further back into college days for a smattering of Dutch. Slowly, with much effort and a whole lot of good will, we three arrived at understanding.

THE Polish sailor had been on board a destroyer placed at the head of a D-day invasion column. He took part in the terrific bombardment that the warships "Rodney" and "Warspite" directed against the German coastal fortifications. He had seen with his own eyes, he said, the first assault of the Allied troops . . . the first Commando who set foot "for good and not for a try-out" on the soil of Western Europe. And he had a story to tell of a Polish "deserter," a youth of twenty who had been so distressed because his unit was not to be in the first wave of invasion troops that he found a way to smuggle himself across the Channel and get into the first fighting on the beaches, from which he returned wounded. "They can court-martial me now if they want," the kid had said. "Anyhow, I had a whack at Fritz!"

"The Germans were so quiet at first," the Pole said, "that we wondered if they'd all been blown to pieces by the deluge of fire our ships and planes had directed at them. But no, in their turn they opened fire, feebly at first, but soon with growing force. Their machine-guns belched death on the long white and gray invasion barges. Then came the great moment, the ramps of the barges were lowered and the men sprang out in the water, running for the beach, and falling many of them, but finally triumphant.

"Magnificent, those Britishers," the Pole declared. He made great gestures as he explained it all to me, there was a metallic light in his eyes and a radiance of Victory that suffused his whole person.

NO less interesting were the experiences of the Dutch sailor. He had been on one of the small speed boats that did the scouting the night of the invasion. They had spotted a couple of "E-boats" that were getting ready to attack the supply convoy, and had given the warning in time.

We sailors kept still now, to give our aviator comrades a chance. One of the Australians had had to make a forced landing behind the enemy lines. His plane was done for, but thanks to the help of some Normandy civilians, he had managed to slip through the Boche lines and get back to his own. He sang the praises of the Normandy population.

Even the "brass hats" came in for their share of D-day praise. The sailors raved about the way the air arm managed the bombardment so that it stopped the exact moment that the invasion barges reached the coast. The aviators present returned the

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compliment by referring to the precision with which the immense naval armada kept its Normandy rendezvous.

Only the British and American "khakis" held their tongues, listening with envy. "Go on," we told them, "your turn will come soon enough! You'll probably see more fighting than any of us!"

Story followed story, some tragic, some comical, all exciting and full of confidence in the outcome. I told my own version of the invasion, giving credit to the Americans for their fire power; the British for the speed with which they organized the conquered beaches; the Canadians for the magnificent morale with which, just before disembarking on the beachhead, they gave us the "V" sign, the French for the work of their famous little submarine chasers. In fact, as I saw D-day, I had to hand it to everyone!

I told about the gunfire that exploded a mine at fifty meters from my unit, of the thousands of planes and the hundreds of cargo and war vessels I had seen. Then it was the turn of the Yugoslav. He also had a story to relate . . . but he spoke neither English nor French. Was there anyone, he wanted to know, who could speak his language?

No, but in union there is strength! The Yugoslav knew a little Italian, and so did a Frenchman from the South, who was able to translate for him. I then relayed his story in English to the others of the group. Thus we were all able to share his D-day experiences.

And, of course, there was the fish story, from a Frenchman. With many contortions of the arms and head and hands, and—may he pardon me!—of the tongue—he related the remarkable adventure that befell his frigate. A German torpedo plane attacked them in the night, launching two torpedoes at their stern. The torpedoes separated smoothly one from the other, at five meters from the stern, and passed along either side of the vessel, finally shooting on past it, without a scratch. "And when I tell you," quoth the sailor, "that we could have reached out an arm and touched them as they went by!" It would have gone hard with any of us who had presumed to contradict; but then, who would think of breathing a doubt?

A NORWEGIAN got my attention and began recounting an episode of the opening of the second front which he had witnessed. It concerned a small Belgian freighter, the "Marcel." The ship had a draught of some 400 tons, and seemed utterly insignificant amid the superb invasion flotilla that surrounded her. All the same she had her hour of glory. For under the violent fire of the enemy batteries, she pulled straight into the Norman coast and successfully transferred her cargo of gasoline drums into the trucks that were assembled along the shore.

Harold—he was the one who was telling the story—raised his thumb in an eloquent gesture of appreciation.

HAVING spun our D-day yarns, we became a little weary of war. On this night of triumph, it was easy to forget the bloodshed and the misery, to dream of future peace. We were a bit sentimental about that. Do not imagine it was the effects of intemperance. No . . . it was something else . . . something deeper . . . that created a bond between us. If Stanilas gave me his address in Cracovie, if I gave my own to Eleutherios of Salonika, and if Emile, the Parisian, made a date to meet us all "at the corner of the street that turns right just before you start up the Butte Montmartre," it was not because we'd drunk too much of the detestable beer . . . nor even because we seriously thought that, life being what it is, we would ever meet again. It was merely that we who had left our homes far away, often under the most dramatic circumstances, were drawn together by having just shared a great victory in common.

Today D-day has moved from the front pages of the world's newspapers to the pages of history. We have been fighting new battles in Europe, pushing the Nazis back and still farther back, using ships and planes and tanks and men of many nationalities to loosen the Nazi clutch on Europe. There is something about it that seems as important to me as the death of tyranny. It is the new fellowship that is being born, haltingly because of the barrier of tongues . . . but with confidence, among men who are united.

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Argentina's Underground

Versus

A New Fascist Empire

By
Guillermo Korn

FROM MONTEVIDEO, Uruguay, this leader of the Argentine resistance movement, recently forced to flee his country, describes the peril of New World totalitarianism and his people's fight to overcome it.

WHILE the Argentine totalitarians, backed by foreign capitalists and domestic reactionaries, use the "free press" to build their fascist empire in the New World, the Argentine people are reacting with a sure and heroic instinct for freedom.

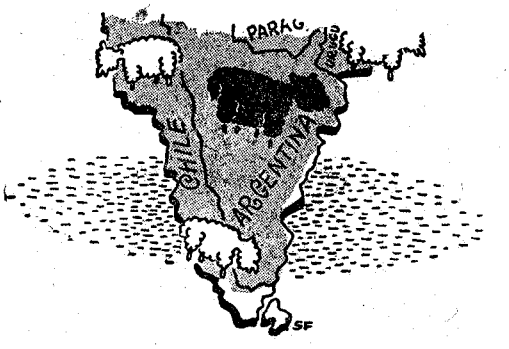
On the home soil of Argentina, a number of secret newspapers now circulate, with an ever-mounting number of readers. Meanwhile, through the activities of a strong underground, plans for the establishment of a Committee of Liberation in Exile are very nearly complete.

It is important for both North and South America to understand that the rank and file of Argentines are not taking lying down the attack of the militarist group on their liberties. At the same time it should be clearly realized that the aggression against human rights depasses the borders of Argentina. The real purpose of the totalitarians is to create a great Southern bloc subject to its influence. That accomplished, it can point a dagger at the back of the triumphant democracies.

The channel for this subtle penetration of the South American republics with fascist propaganda lies through the venal press of the various nations. Recently, for instance, Sergio Chiaporri, an official of the Bureau of Press and Information of the Argentine Dictatorship, made a tour of Bolivia and Peru. His apparently harmless mission was the showing of an Exhibit of Argentine Books. Behind this façade, it seems likely he managed to employ the corrupting gold of the Farrell-Peron government to color the news in other American countries. One way or another it is being accomplished. On August 29, the newspaper *El Pais* of Montevideo denounced the fact that another Uruguayan paper "publishes daily information from official Argentine sources."

The poison seeps into the press of these other nations in properly proportioned doses, purporting to be the authentic expression of the free press of the outside world. Sometimes the dateline and published source leaves one open-mouthed with amazement.

As for the "free" Argentine press, it is free only for this task of fascist indoctrina-



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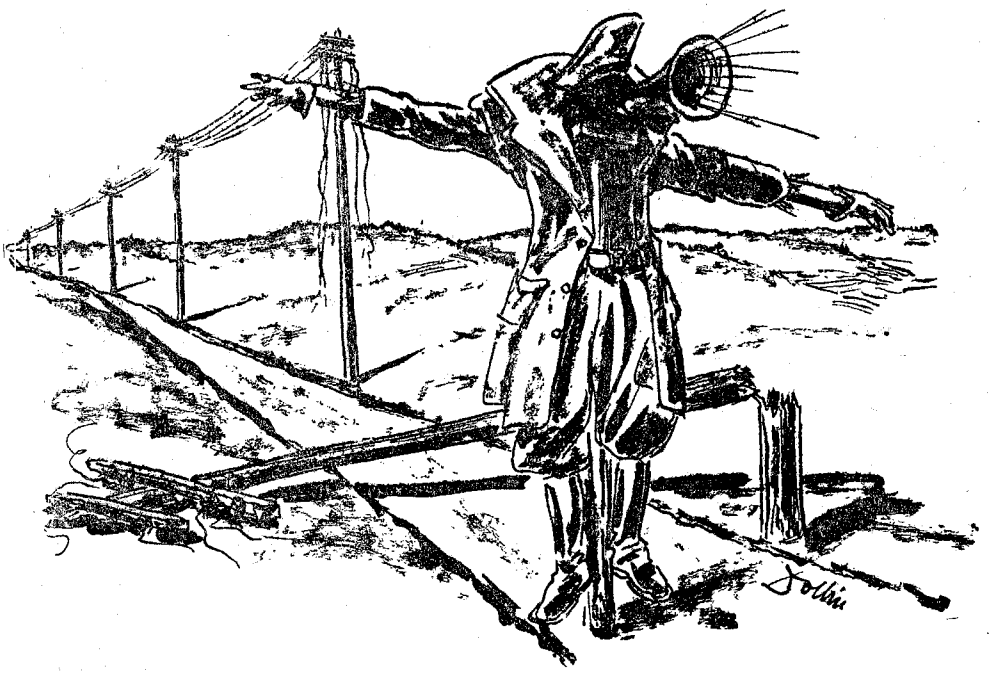

tion. Some of the foreign news agencies have accepted Chancellor Peluffo's assurances that there is now freedom of information, and it is hard to say just how far naiveté has played a role in their willingness to believe.

This so-called freedom of the press in a state of siege is plainly worse than the earlier censorship maintained until recently by the Farrell-Peron dictatorship. For now the threat of *a posteriori* sanctions hangs over the editor's head. "Write what you want and publish whatever you please," is Chancellor Peluffo's benign word, "but God help you if your free expression incurs the wrath of the government."

This whole foul business is being resisted valiantly by the Argentine people, just as for fourteen years they resisted the growing influence of totalitarianism, which was at work systematically during all that time and long before the outbreak of the war to make Argentina its New World fortress. The Falange, essentially Catholic—more accurately Jesuitical—helped establish the relationship between Hitler and Argentine reactionaries, coating the pill in such a way that it was swallowed with pleasure by the ruling classes. The Argentine masses, essentially democratic, have fought this audacious attack with disconcerting force.

Invisible Invasion

ECONOMIC interest and political machines in Argentina capitulated easily to what deputy Julio V. Gonzalez of the National Congress called "the Invisible Invasion." The machines went into action to stamp out popular reaction. A variety of other interests followed in the footsteps of the traditional political parties. The English and American capitalists, the landholding cattle men, the feudal gentlemen of the protected industries and the Catholic Church, all by definition anti-totalitarian, have been working jointly for Hitler's interests in Argentina. Fear of seeing the people win the social justice they insistently demanded in the face of a disorganized and rapacious system, has brought about this tragic and paradoxical situation.

The Argentine people continue to fight with confidence in the outcome of the struggle and certainty regarding the immediate methods which must be applied to reconquer their rights, their voice in the government and their vote, all of which were ignominiously snatched away by the military dictatorship. Their struggle is continuing, but unless it receives proper support in time it can be eliminated by the increasingly brutal repression methods of the

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dictatorship, which include both threat and bribery of the South American press.

No less than ten underground newspapers now flourish, with a total circulation estimated at 150,000 per issue. This figure is one which I am able to substantiate, since I have been in charge of printing most of them, until recently when my activities in connection with the organization of the illegal struggle forced me to take refuge in Montevideo.

This secret press has gained strength at the very moment when it was under heavy attack by the police, which destroyed one of the best equipped printing plants at the beginning of August—Ranelagh's in Buenos Aires Province. Despite such setbacks, *Himno Nacional* and *La Voz de Mayo*, the two greatest and most widely read of the underground papers, and a number of others have already attained success. The two mentioned will soon be merged into one that will give full expression to the feeling of unity which animates the people in their struggle.

The labor and student movements in Argentina have remained intact and have not been cut off from their reserves; they also are doing their part in the fight and are facing ferocious persecution without losing heart. There are concentration camps and jails overflowing with political prisoners. The same day that the former socialist deputies Americo Ghioldi and Juan Antonio Solari were given their "conditional" freedom as a move to create a favorable reaction to the government, other socialist leaders were jailed and the young student Eduardo Saponi of the University of La Plata was brutally tortured.

The fight for liberty in Argentina pursues an immediate and very clear goal and there are no serious differences of opinion among those who serve in it. A survey of the underground press shows this unity of purpose. The statements of the exiled Argentines—first Repetto and then Moreno—have just been made public and they reveal this same accord.

The Committee of Liberation

FROM the beginning, there was a struggle for the establishment of a Committee of Liberation in exile that would represent the Argentine people, lend coherence to its unconquerable resistance, and permit attainment of continental solidarity. That ideal seems about to be attained. The committee will include representatives of a cross-section of all democratic elements. This achievement will cut the ground from under the appeasers, inside and outside the country, who, alleging the absence of all signs of life within the underground movement of Argentine democracy, have tried to make a deal with Peron and his bellicose friends, at this time of crisis in the war.

The Committee of Liberation—this may or may not be its official name—will assume the role of representing the Underground, and will be able to rely on the unanimity of its adherents. The Committee's popularity in Argentina is assured, since its formation was demanded for more than a year in spite of all factional limitations. Its success will be greatly affected by the extent to which the United Nations and Pan American democracy lend their support.

The recognition by the United States of the Ramirez government, effected by a military coup, was a diplomatic slip which delayed and tragically complicated the future solution of the political problems of the River Plata. We hope the Argentine Committee of Liberation will have the good fortune to meet with more subtle and intelligent diplomacy.

The process of Argentine nazification is so monstrous that we are inclined to excuse the press and the opinion of the American nations which failed to recognize the danger, or give credit to the resistance. It is disconcerting to see the same blindness in diplomacy. Churchill's words in Parliament about those who toy with the evil of the Argentine dictatorship revealed that Britain has abandoned its Munich-like stutterings on the Argentine problem. I refer to such statements as those of Mr. Armour, who informed his government that the revolution of June 4th would fulfill its international obligations, putting an end to the pro-Nazi regime of Castillo. . . .

Such a mistake can cost dearly. Armour's error has allowed South American totalitarianism to gain time. Once the Argentine Committee of Liberation is well established we may have to combat a consolidated Buenos Aires-Rio de Janeiro "axis," or, rather, a Vargas-Peron "axis."

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WAR

As It Looks to China's "Little" Man

By JEAN LYON

By Cable from Chungking

He feels he is not alone in the fight, as he sees American planes overhead. He prefers hardship—with hope—to Jap domination.

THE "little" man of China – the farmer, the street peddler, the shopkeeper, the housewife—will tell you that this past seventh year of the war has been the hardest yet. He will tell you, too, that he expects next year to be harder. But he will, at the same time, say that now there is more hope that Japan will be beaten soon. He has either seen or heard about American soldiers being in this country. He has more than likely heard and seen American planes overhead. When he talks about the eighth year of the war he uses a brand new phrase in the Chinese language—"Meng Yu" or "Friends in Alliance." He knows China has allies, and the Allies have brought him new hope.

People in the towns and villages and railroad stations in several provinces, chosen at random and asked for opinions about the war, all answered in the same vein. "The war has made life hard," they said. "We eat bitterness. But we must go on eating bitterness until the Japs are driven out of our country. And we know now that we will win the victory because we have allies." That, in effect, is what each of them said in various ways.

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There was Ling Yang-Tse, a twenty-six-year-old ex-soldier who sat beside his folding cigarette stand in the town of Tushan, in Kweichow Province. His eyes had a strained look. It was from the gas which the Japanese had used in a battle he had been in, he explained. He had joined the army the year before China's war started, back in 1936. He had fought in the first hard battle of 1937, and had been almost blinded by gas from the Japanese in the battle for Kiukiang in Kiangsi Province. After he had been discharged from the hospital he hadn't been able to go back into the army because he couldn't see at all at night and only partially during the day. So now he had married and he and his wife sold cigarettes. His wife sat on the backless bench beside him at the side of the road, smiling while he answered questions.

They had left their home town in Hunan Province just five months ago, he said. It was too close to the Japanese lines to suit him, he said. In Tushan life was hard. It was hard to earn a living. But he wouldn't turn east again until the Japs were driven away. "Next year," he said, "will be much better. Sure it will be. Now we have help."

DOWN in Kwangsi Province in a little farm village called Liuchia, another couple who ran a noodle shop near the railroad station gave their ideas about the war. They were a couple in their early thirties, named Yen. Mrs. Yen talked for the family. "If we fight with one heart victory will come sooner," she said. "America is now fighting with us. This is good if we can all work together, it would be bad if we were all selfish."

Mrs. Yen wore a faded black cotton blouse, and cotton trousers cut off at the knees. Her hair was hanging in two braids. She was uneducated and far from the city sources of news. In Liuchia there are no radios, either, and no commentators to listen to. But she had left her home in Shantung, in northern China, six years ago, and the war had been a part of her life ever since. She needed no commentator to tell her what to think.

"Of course, we long to go back home," Mrs. Yen said. She was sitting on a bench in front of the noodle shop facing her interviewer to whom she had offered a second bench, fanning herself with a large palm leaf fan. "But we can't go home when the Japs are there, can we? We must stay here until the war is won."

Old farmer Mo, out in the middle of his rice paddy just outside this same village found it hard to express his feelings. He really didn't want to say much, for after all he could neither read nor write so who was he to say what he thought about the war? But if the war lasted four more years —as some said it would—he, for one, could take it. Naturally, China couldn't stop fighting until she had won. He had seen American planes and he thought they would surely help bring victory. By-and-by it would end.

It was hard, though, Farmer Mo explained. One-tenth of your rice crop went to the government for taxes. The young men of the village had gone into the army, so the old men had to work harder. Then after all the rice was raised and the taxes paid you still seldom had enough left for your own family. You have to eat corn instead of rice part of the time. In the winter time the women must weave cloth for clothes, because there is not enough money left for buying things like cloth.

Farmer Mo pushed back the wide rain and sun hat which he always wore when he was cultivating his rice field. He talked about the letters the villagers received sometimes from one of their boys at the front. They didn't come very often, but when one did come, everyone in the village read it. Some of the children are studying in the village school now so they can read the letters.

THE wives of two railroad workers at the railroad station Tseling in Kwangsi Province, held babies in their arms as they talked about the war. "Ay, ya," they said "It's a hard life in Free China. But it's worse under the Japanese." They both came from Hankow, Yangtze River port now occupied by the enemy. They had come in 1938 with their husbands. One had gone back to Hankow last year. She opened a cloth shop there and made a fair living. "But the Japanese got all the money," she said, "so what was the use?"

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She gave it up and came out to Free China again.

"It's a hard life, but I'd rather stay here now until we drive the Japs out," she said.

A victory, the two women said, depends greatly on the Allied Army—and again they use a phrase in China's new war time vocabulary, "Meng Chun." If China were alone now, things might be very bad. But China is not alone, so there is now hope.

The man who sold steamed bread at the Tseling Railway Station was vigorous in expressing his delight at the American bombing of Japan. He had heard about it from passengers on the train and had quickly spread the news in the village. "It isn't just a few people who are happy over that," he said. "Everybody is happy over it. It makes the next year look better than the past seven years."

His name was Cheng, and he came from a farming village in Anhwei Province, he explained. He owned land and tilled his own soil there. Cheng was forty years old, and strong looking. When the Japanese came to his district, Cheng said, all the farmers around decided it would be better to go away and leave the soil untilled rather than to grow food for the Japs. So they left, about three hundred of them. He'll go back after the war, of course. He is a farmer. But he won't go back before. "I can't," he said simply.

Meanwhile he lives in a mud-walled house which he described to a gathering audience. As the train pulled out he was regaling the crowd with the story of a cloudburst a few nights before.

THE school children take a surprising interest in the war. One thirteen-year-old girl at a small town in Kwangsi wanted to know if there was any recent news about puppet Wang Ching-wei. "I hate him," she said. "We all hate him." She remembers when the Japanese came into her home in Hopei Province. She was only six then.

A seventeen-year-old schoolboy in Tushan, Kweichow, announced wisely that he expected the war to last two more years. He was moving along the street of the town poking into candy shops and peanut stands and stopping to smell the good smells that came from the sidewalk cafeterias. When he saw an American down the street, he smiled and introduced himself rather breathlessly. He wanted to know the latest news from all the fronts so that he could tell his schoolmates. "We're more interested in the other fronts since the Americans came to China," he said. The students in his school were all excited at the news of the bombing of Japan, and shot off firecrackers. The Tushan newspapers put out an extra that day—something unusual where paper is so scarce.

Two nurses headed west to join a new hospital, Chen Wei-Lan and Tu Wen-Hsia, both said that no matter how long the war must last, they would not want anything else until the Japanese are driven out of China. They have handled bombing victims, and they both know what the war is like first hand. Nurse Chen was in Hanoi when the Japanese invaded it, and headed straight for Free China as soon as she got a chance. Life under the Japanese is nothing to remember.

Nurse Tu came from Changteh, where the battle was fierce and the Chinese victory was hard won last winter. Her family lost all its household belongings while the Japs were in the city.

A REFUGEE merchant recently arrived in Kweilin from Hongkong, put his feeling about this year of the war this way. "It's like the seven days in a week," he said. "We've been through all seven days. Next year will be like the beginning of a new week, and I have a feeling that the invaders will be driven out on this Monday."

A housewife in Kweilin tossed her head defiantly when she was asked about the war. "We have fought for seven years," she said. "We won't mind if it's another seven years. We are ready for them."

There is nothing very pretty, nor romantic, nor even heroic about the war to these people over here. It is hard. It leaves them homesick, and hungry, and sometimes cold and tired. But from the man in a government office in Kweilin or Chungking to the isolated farmer treading the wheel that irrigates the rice field, the Chinese people know that the war, no matter how hard, is better than laboring under the enemy.

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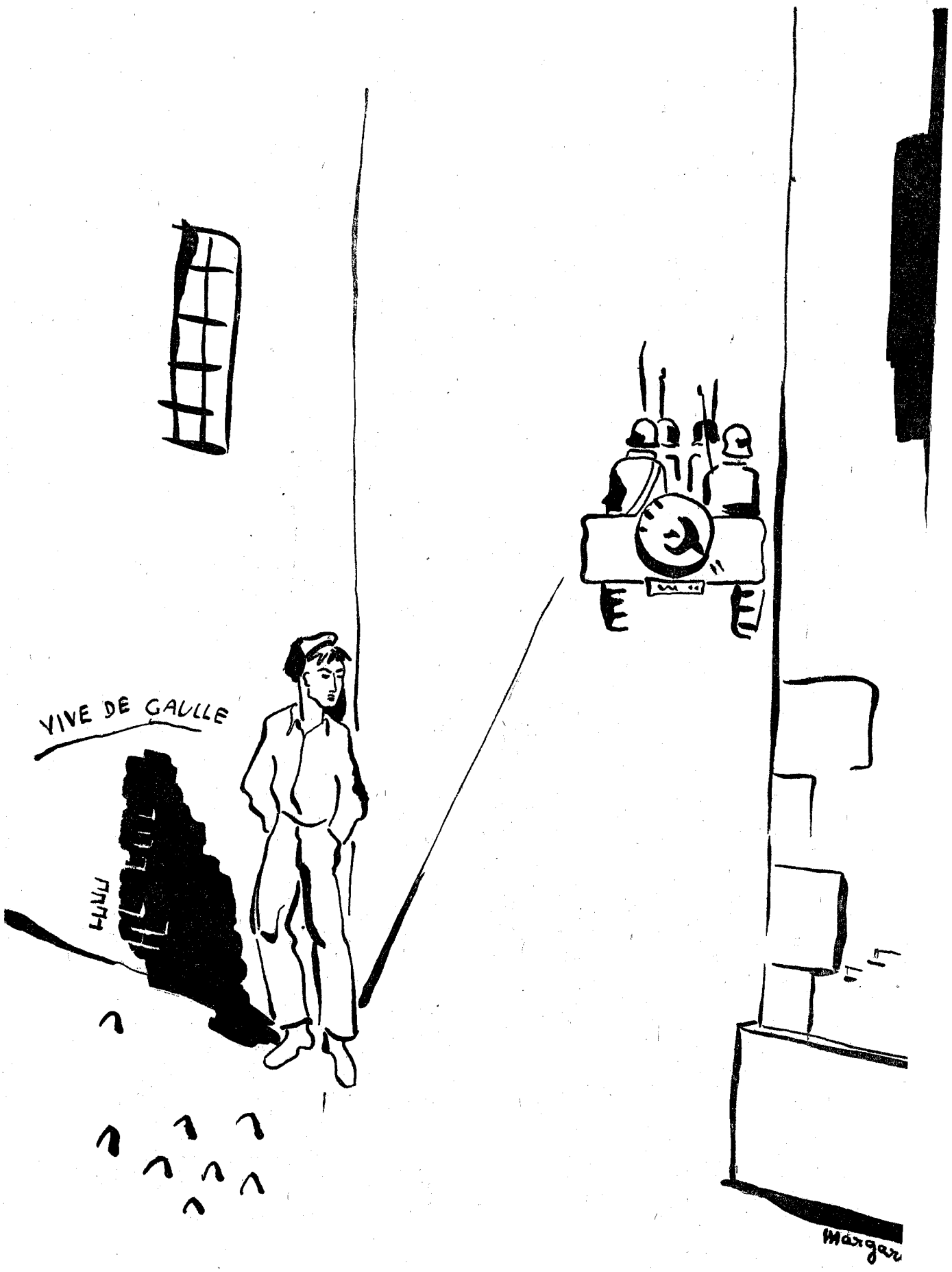

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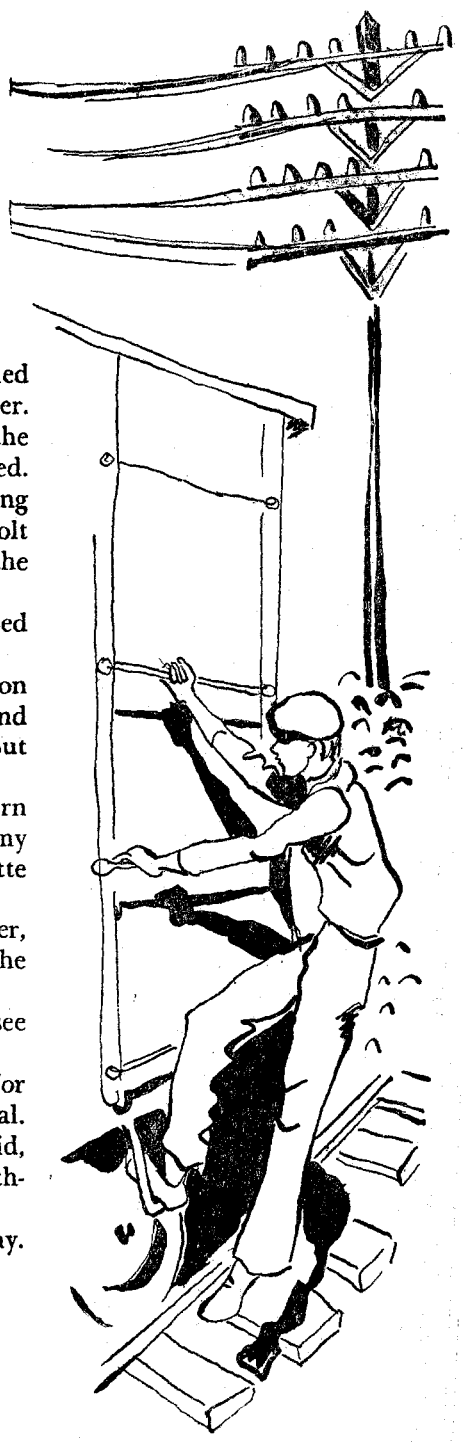
That FRANCE may live!

FROM FRANCE comes this story indicative of the spirit that kept the nation alive in its darkest years. Into the struggle to free her from the nazi tyranny have gone the blood, sweat and tears of millions of humble civilians, as well as the might of armed forces.

by

Maurice Chourot



OUR hearts stopped at the ringing of the bell. The wind whistled loudly at the edge of the roof; our eyes questioned one another.

My two comrades were impassive. Silently I rose, turned off the light and stood with my back to the door near the wall. We waited.

There was a slight rustling in the vestibule. Henriette was opening the door. Suspense. Then the noise of the lock and that of the bolt moving back. Again suspense . . . no signal . . . a whispering . . . the door closed and locked. False alarm.

A heavy step preceded Henriette, an unknown step. A chair scraped on the kitchen floor. Silence covered everything.

I put on the light. My comrades had not moved. The discussion picked up again. The words were sober and precise, voices low and monotone, faces serious and calm. All continued as it was before. But who could have come?

One after another my comrades left. In a few minutes I in my turn would depart. Until then I smoked and summed up in my mind my schedule for tomorrow. As I did so the door opened slowly. Henriette entered the room and came to me.

"It's Raoul . . . Raoul Parat . . . He is terribly upset. At Charlier, all is lost. Fourteen arrests, two mimeograph machines, almost all the paper."

She mentioned the names of the comrades that we should never see again, and continued:

"He is the only one they missed. You know he had been in bed for sometime, at Rousier's house. That day he wanted to go to the hospital. On his way back he noticed from a distance the patrol wagon. He hid, watched and learned all he could, then left. Without money, with nothing. He traveled on a freight train. I think he is very ill."

We stared at each other. Henriette waited to hear what I would say.

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"Take care of him. Get him to talk, and take notes. It is important for us to be informed. We have been denounced. He probably knows things that we don't. Especially he may be able to give us an idea whom we can contact, to restore the liaison with the group. As soon as he is better, he'll leave here. Until then don't tell him anything. Understand? Tell Pierre when he gets back. Good-night!"

She held me back. "Tell me, wouldn't it be better for you to see him? You could question him yourself, and he is so low that . . ."

"Are you crazy? Haven't we had enough trouble to teach us to be careful? It is enough that he knows me. He doesn't need to know what I do or where I live. For your part, Pierre and you have nothing to tell him about your activities. That's definite. Good-night!"

I left, without telling her that I must return the next day.

THE street was calm and white. Not a soul. A fine snow was falling. By winding streets I regained my attic, that chicken coop which had sheltered me for two days and which I must soon quit. I was thinking it would be cold there tonight. I would pass part of the night making up the account of the last losses at Charlier, figuring out the result, making plans for going on. Good God, for some time all we had done was clear away the ruins. We didn't build, we only shored up the walls. Would they finish by wiping us out? No, not that! Our very dead would fight on.

Raoul Parat. It was fortunate that he was not arrested. What would have become of him in a jail cell? Would he have been able to go through the suffering of the first cross-questioning? His fierce will power would not have sufficed; he was exhausted. For years his sickly and deformed youth had been like a torrent of energy, but his feeble body could not follow and curbed his generous spirit. All the same he never admitted it. He limped with a smile, as if it were a joke, and coughed with an absent air, as if just hunting for words. Could we manage to help him rest?

Henriette acted as if she were waiting for me the next day. The door was hardly closed when she seized my arm. "Come in. Things aren't going so well." In the bright kitchen, I saw how disturbed she was. She was pale, her lips were drawn to a narrow line.

"Pierre left at noon, and I am alone with this youngster who is dying."

I took her hand. She said, "We took turns sitting up with him last night. Toward the end of the morning he lost consciousness. We waited and waited; you should have come. We couldn't make up our minds. He should have had a doctor. But who? Now, I'm afraid it is too late. Come see him."

I hesitated. Her face wore a painful lassitude. "Oh, you can come. He will not recognize you."

I half opened the door of the alcove that was lighted by a shaded lamp. Raoul was stretched out with eyes closed. I approached the head of his bed and stood motionless. My throat tightened, and I felt my fingers moving to caress his white forehead that lay in the shadows. His eyes, his cheekbones, everything about him spoke of death, and his hand on the comforter was ghastly. He was hardly breathing. He was dying. We knew it.

What could we do? To call a doctor would be insane. The only two who could come were far from us: Vergeret in Germany, Blanc in prison. All the others could do would be to give a burial permit; we didn't want that.

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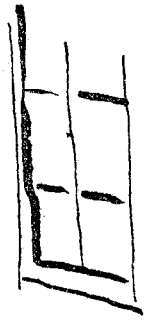
It is hard to say how long he lasted. Finally Henriette bent over the slight body, and straightening up again, gave me a long glance. I felt my muscles contract, the blood beat at my temples, and before my frozen expression, her tears did not dare to flow.

"This is not the moment," I said. My voice was harsh, and dull by habit. . . . "Take his clothes and go on out. You will empty his pockets of everything, absolutely. After that, I'll dress him."

Without a word she left the room.



ALONE, I relaxed. And an exulting satisfaction swept over me; I was calm, lucid, strong. I sat on the edge of the bed and took my comrade's hand. The next moment Henriette knocked. I took the clothes from her and asked, "Pierre will be back at eight o'clock?" She nodded.

"Go telephone him and ask him to borrow a hand cart at the depot. Uncle André has at last decided to give you his coal stove. Tell him not to lose any time."

She walked toward the door, then turned and said, in a toneless voice, "What are we going to do?"

"What a question? Get him out of here, of course. Hurry!"

In haste I took off hat, coat and vest and went to the kitchen. At the bottom of the cupboard, in a box, I selected some strong cord and an electric wire. Then I shut myself up in the alcove.

Before Henriette got back I had finished. I laid a sheet over the body of Parat and observed that it looked like a sort of ball, not too voluminous. The legs, held by his arms, were folded up against the chest, his head bent down on his knees.

When I had finished my task I went out to the sink, washed my hands and drank with intense thirst. Then I lighted a cigarette and walked over to the window. It was four o'clock, night was falling. Black, toward the street that one could no longer see, dirty gray above the roofs; no more snow on the bushes, no light in those sombre masses. A bare murmur rose to me from below.

I still felt very calm, and detached. I thought how only those conquer death who have given their lives to a real and permanent struggle, and who want nothing for themselves except the strength to go ever forward.

"Shall I turn the light on?" asked Henriette on her return.

"You may."

"Nothing suspicious below . . . Pierre said alright." She took off her coat with no sign of nervousness. "Will you wait for him?" she added.

"No, I have an appointment, but I will be here at eight o'clock. Let no one enter the alcove in my absence . . . light your fire, you're going to be cold."

WHEN I got back, Henriette was sewing. Pierre wasn't there yet. My feet were stinging from the cold. I sat down without a word.

We heard the sound of a key in the lock and Pierre appeared in his damp coat. We shook hands. "The taxi is downstairs," he said.

"Come with me." I drew him into the alcove. He shook his head at sight of the bundle, and his jaws set firmly. "Well? What do we do with it?" he asked.

"Have you an old sack . . . and some wire?"

"Yes."

"Bring them."

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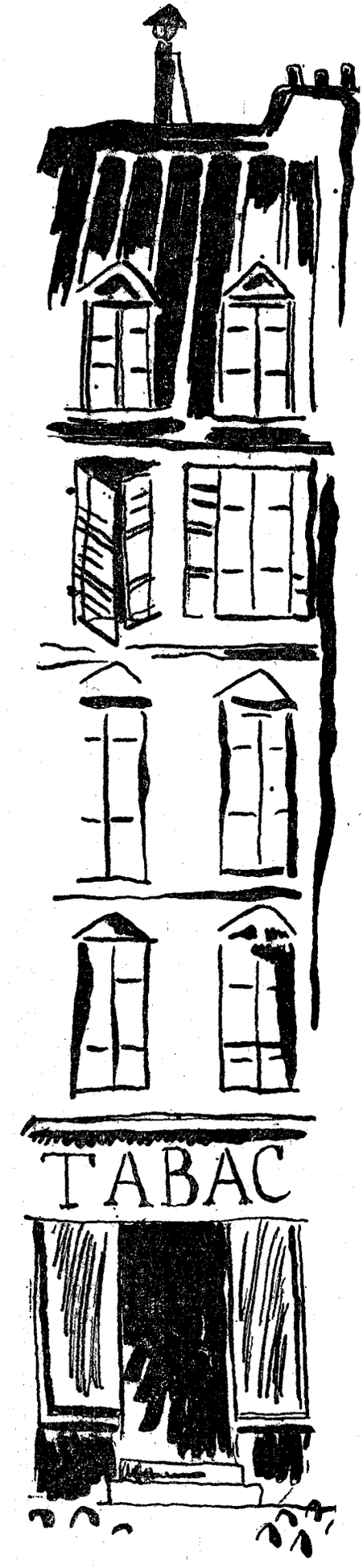

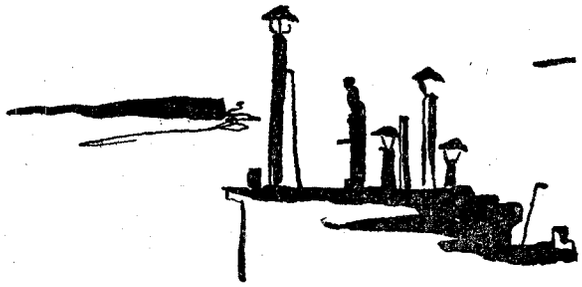

A few moments later Henriette, who had rejoined us, turned to me. She was beautiful, this little everyday person. One could hardly notice that she was biting her lower lip. She leant slightly on her husband's arm, without admitting that she was either weak or tired.

"What have you decided?"

"You go down first. Walk out of the house and if everything looks normal, come back and open the letter box. Pierre and I will carry out the screen and four chairs and . . . the . . . Hurry, at the moment there are few people on the street."

They both stood motionless. Pierre, his hands in his pockets, looked down at the flagstone. "Where are you going to put him?"

"In the river."

Henriette's eyes gaped at me.

"In the river? You wouldn't throw him in the river! . . ."

"And if not?" I asked. I could feel the hard expression return to my face. "What else can we do? You do not expect to transport his body to the cemetery and give it burial? Or abandon it at the corner of a street? As much risk either way, and this very night the police would discover it. They don't need to know that he sought refuge in this city. They don't need to know anything, do you hear? What is this sensibility which torments you? A man is as well off in the water as in the earth. This youth has no family, as you know. His father disowned him for fear of compromising himself. And even if questions of family sentiment were involved, we would not dare to hesitate. Parat himself would tell us what to do with his body. Let's not lose any time"

Henriette let go Pierre's arm and started to the door, straight and resolute.

I stopped her. "Wait . . . We are going to Mr. Dupont's house on the other side of the river, understand? If anyone stops us, let me do the talking. . . ."

I carried down the four chairs and the screen. It was large but light in weight. Pierre picked up Parat and started off whistling.

WHEN the large sack had been camouflaged in the hand-cart, I approached Henriette.

"Go on upstairs now."

"No."

"I tell you go on back."

"I tell you that I won't do it. I am going with you. He is a little bit my own youngster, that poor little fellow, you understand. You know it. You have not the right to refuse me that. I shall go with him to the end. . . ."

I did not insist. Pierre was harnessing himself to the shafts of the cart. Henriette put her hand on the side rail. And I held up the scaffolding of chairs, carefully erected.

We crossed the paved court where the wheels made an infernal noise of creaking and scraping. We moved on with quiet footsteps in the snow

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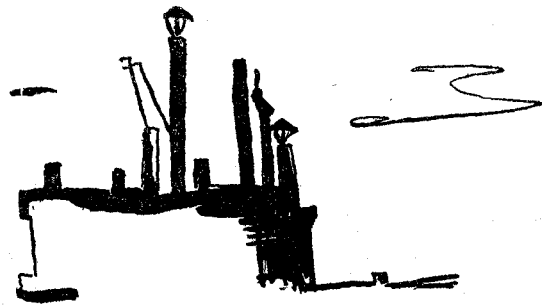

which flew about us like a white veil, before melting into the mud.

The gates were down at the railroad crossing. We stopped. Few people in sight. In a distraught manner I looked around for the guard who ought to be on duty at this important point. I could not see him.

Pierre, in a loud voice exclaimed: "If only we had a mattress, folks might say we were beating the landlord!"

Henriette laughed in a natural way and then protested poutingly: "Listen, that would be very funny if it weren't for this deadly cold! For twenty francs a messenger would have done this job in the daytime."

"For twenty francs I'd join the Legion," replied Pierre, who had studied the surroundings. He took his place again at the head of the cart. The train had passed, the barriers were raised. The wagon was off again, with its hubbub that surrounded and absorbed us.

Another five or six meters. Henriette and I changed sides to permit us to warm our hands that had lost their feeling. A group of policemen on bicycles passed us, looking us over as they went. Would they return? . . . Would they follow us from afar? . . . I pretended to re-establish the equilibrium of the chairs in order to take a look behind us. Not a soul. We continued on our way.

I HAD the impression that I was playing a game with the groans and the outcries of this cart. I tried to observe my comrades, but I could see them only poorly. They appeared insignificant. Pierre frequently whistled some well-known air. At each crossing our eyes roved over the new streets. It was almost unbearable. We needed all our fighting armor to endure it. The suffering grew worse with time, the sort of feeling one has at the exit of a station with a valise in hand full of stencils and secret newspapers. A few seconds may pass all right, but the minutes, the tens of minutes! . . .

We were getting closer. By common accord we had started to move more rapidly. The bridge was now only a few meters away. I stepped up beside Pierre: "Let's go across," and I started off ahead of him on the sidewalk.

The roar of the current was my guide. The first pile . . . the second . . . in front of me . . . around me, there was profound darkness. I suddenly turned and walked back to meet the others. In this new direction also everything was deserted. The cart had come to a standstill at the center of the span.

Rapidly, but with assurance, we removed the chairs, slid the screen aside and seized the body of Raoul.

"Ready . . . go!" With two steps we had hoisted it and heaved it over the side. We barely could hear the dull sound as it hit the water.

Everything was replaced in the cart and we set out again. We all walked in front, Henriette and I on either side of Pierre and all of us silent. We chose another route back. At the next street crossing I took leave of them.

"Henriette, you didn't leave anything in his pockets?"

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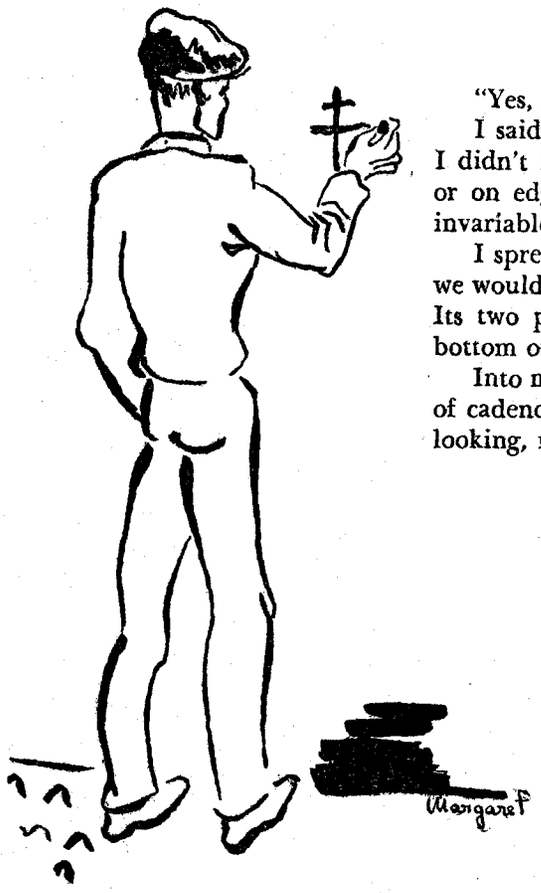


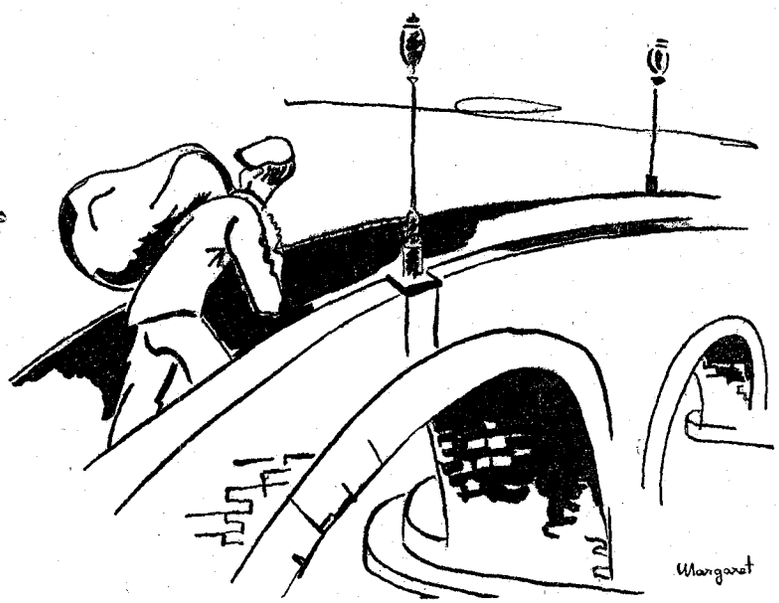
"Yes, a tract he had guarded."

I said "goodnight" without glancing at them, and departed quickly. I didn't feel relaxed, yet on the other hand my nerves were not tense or on edge. I was neither well nor ill: It was the struggle, constant, invariable . . . thus I found myself again at my lodging place.

I spread out on my valise and on my bed the copy of the newspaper we would run off the next day. It was already dated: December 11, 1940. Its two pages were almost filled; there was just a small space at the bottom on the right. I took up a sheet of paper, reflected for a moment.

Into my head came the words of a song, heavy, rhythmic and powerful of cadence, full of force and of grief. I wrote down the words without looking, my jaws set:

"The best of ours
Die in the fight. . . .
That France may live!"



"The roar of the current was my g u i d e. The first pile . . . the second. Rapidly, but with assurance, we seized the b o d y of Raoul."

Psychology of Robot Bombing

UNTIL their clutch on the robot-bomb coast in Northern France was loosened, then destroyed by thundering British troops, the Nazis continued to gurgle about the overwhelming "psychological" effect of the robot bombs on the Allies.

Just before Paris was liberated, the **Pariser Zeitung,** ***now happily defunct, declared: "No one can ignore the fact that the prolonged use of this new German weapon will have an immense psychological effect. The warning siren is never silent; night and day the earth trembles with the rumble of the motors, the detonations of high explosives.***

"In the Reich and in many French provinces we have witnessed the effects of aerial bombardment. But these bombings last only a relatively short time, for the bombing planes have a definite assignment and their possibilities are strictly limited by their bomb load. When this is discharged the bomber returns to its base. Thus there is necessarily a pause between one alert signal and the next. With the new German weapon such pauses disappear. Over London and the South of England, the alert is continuous."

This nazi newspaper, then printed in Paris, added: "Germany's new explosive engines can be employed without interruption and as long as the German High Command judge necessary."

That statement was made only a few weeks ago. But today, Nazis can reflect on how erroneous it was.

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My Trip to the Battlefronts

By

R. J. THOMAS

The Vice-President of the CIO and President of the UAW-CIO has just returned from a visit to the fighting fronts. He found strong support for organized labor among fighting men, and a general conviction abroad that Labor of all nations must play an important part in postwar planning.

THE Congress of Industrial Organizations, through its President, Philip Murray, eagerly accepted the invitation of the War Department to visit the fighting fronts. Our immediate concern was to ascertain the attitude of the men in the armed forces in the face of repeated assertions on the floors of Congress and in the press that the armed forces were aroused against organized labor.

Philip Murray appointed me as one of the three CIO delegates for an additional reason. He knew of my interest in the question of labor participation in the war and in the peace. Our visit will, we believe, aid in the formulation of a labor program for the peace and the difficult period which is to follow the peace.

The findings of the AFL and CIO officials with respect to the attitudes of the men in the armed forces have already been widely reported. It is sufficient to point out here that our brief visit in England and in France convinced us that the union men in the service are stronger for unions now than before they entered the Army. The vast majority, union and non-union, recognize that organized labor has delivered the goods with which they are destroying the Nazis. No one—civilian or soldier—who has witnessed the gigantic industrial production embodied in the American war machine can fail to appreciate the performance of American labor. When one sees this power, the much-publicized strikes assume their correct proportion—a regrettable but insignificant part of the total production picture.

We were impressed with the suffering and sacrifice, and the vast material needs of our men in the services—so vast that even a day's loss of production due to strikes or other production interruptions cannot be condoned. All of us returned with a renewed conviction that labor's no-strike pledge must be maintained and our production effort redoubled for the final and victorious blows against the Axis.

As the Allied armies draw nearer to Berlin the paramount question in the minds of all people, and particularly labor people, is the nature of the peace which is to follow. In America there is a great uneasiness in the minds of working people. They see a Congress which has refused to take the most elementary steps toward an orderly return to peace economy. They see the same Congress sniping at the first steps toward an international order which would end wars. Labor, because of this failure of Congress, must be even more active during the planning for peace. Our trip abroad, including our conferences with labor people in France and England, convinced us of the necessity for active planning now among labor people for the peace.

In London we conferred with Sir Walter Citrine and the General Council of the Trade Union Congress. It was with great gratification that we heard Sir Walter express the view that an international trade union conference must be held soon, and that such a conference must include representatives of the Soviet Union, the CIO and all other sections of the labor movement. The three AFL representatives and our-

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selves throughout our trip differed on only one point—whether to include the Soviet trade unions. It is hard for us to believe that an American labor body can today question the right of Soviet Russia to send its representatives to an international labor conference. At a time when the Hearst-McCormick-Patterson press is again openly inciting us to war against Soviet Russia, labor can hardly afford such a prima donna attitude.

In Great Britain we found that there was no question among labor leaders and individual union members that a world-wide labor meeting must be all-inclusive. We hope that the American Federation of Labor will also change its views, as Sir Walter has changed his, on this question.

Eisenhower Told Us . . .

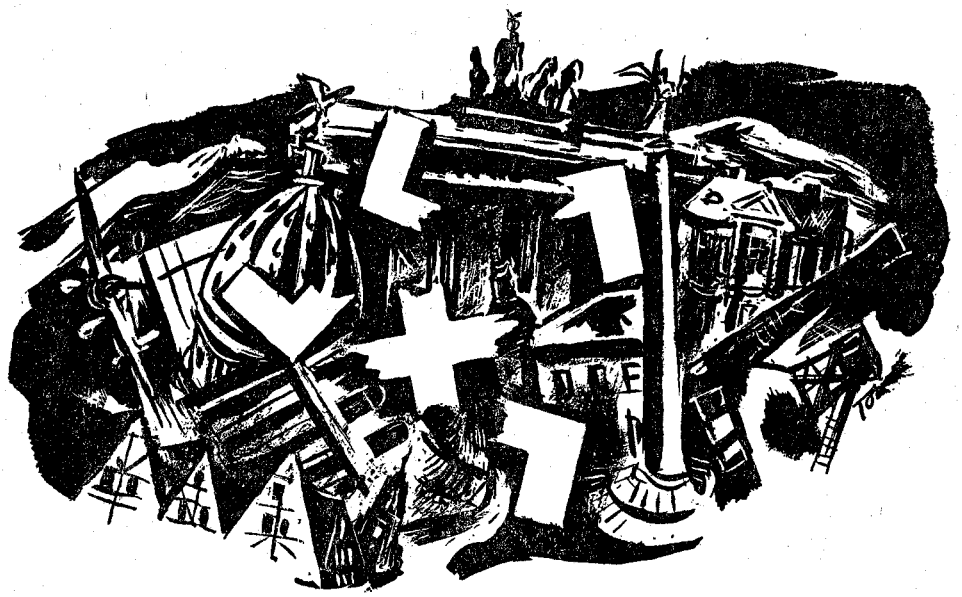
NOT only labor leaders but General Eisenhower and other high officers of the British and French and American armies told us that the trade union organizations in France have been the foundation for the resistance movement. The seizure of Paris by the French underground, starting with a strike by the transport workers' union, was a great and historic tribute to the common man and his love for freedom.

Nothing symbolized so much the indestructibility of the common man's determination to be free as the Parisians' successful fight against the greatest propaganda and military machine the world has ever seen. Paris is only the most dramatic manifestation of labor's rôle in the fight against the Nazi conquerors. The resistance movements in Russia, Yugoslavia, Italy, Greece, Norway, Belgium, Poland and all parts of France, were led by labor. Never again will reaction be able to arouse in those countries a "patriotic" movement to crush labor.

In the reconstruction period the discipline, the technical competence and, more important, the deep-rooted patriotism and love of freedom which have been characteristic of the trade union movement, can be the foundation for the new world. An international labor conference can no longer be delayed. Nothing is more basic to a constructive peace. The labor organizations of Europe have not been able to meet for 5 years or more.

The anti-fascists of France have already taught much to the anti-fascists of Britain. Our men in the armed forces are learning at first hand that the Nazi brutality is something more than mere "war propaganda." There is much we in America can and must learn from the anti-fascists of all European countries who have struggled on their own soil against the forces of tyranny.

In virtually every country the trade unions have developed plans for orderly reconversion and long-run maintenance of peace. Even in Romania, we learned, the



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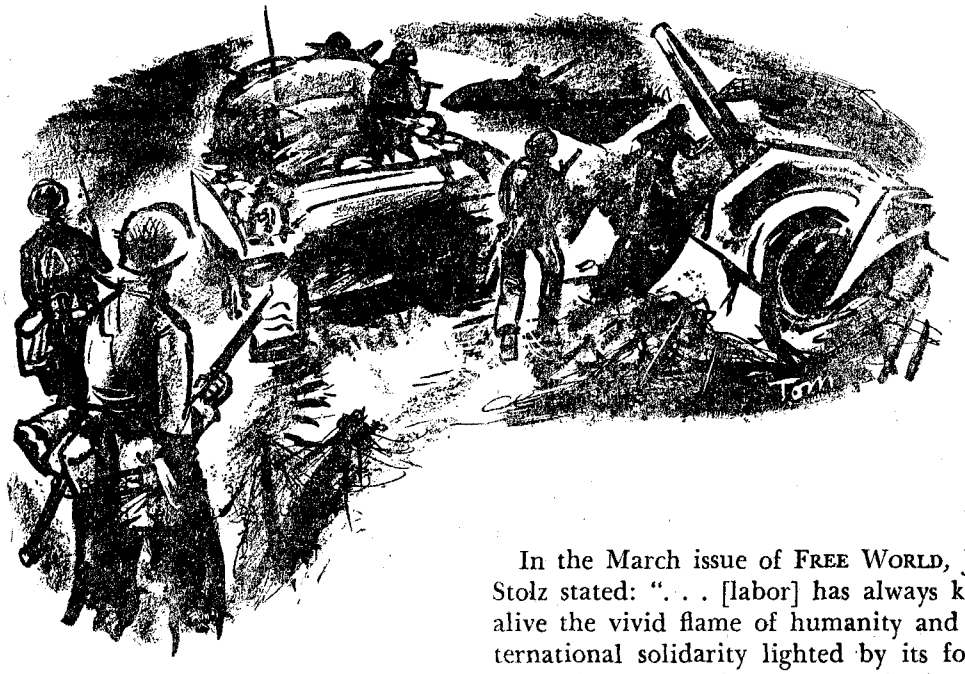

labor movement and Peasant Party have plans ready for the control of monopoly, the distribution of land to peasants, etc. Many of the trade union leaders in these countries have ideas which we in America can well adopt for our own needs.

Time for Labor to Confer Now

THERE are other practical grounds for such a conference. The basic reason is the necessity for labor to establish for itself a unified position in advance of the general peace conferences, not after decisions have been made. Labor will have to live with these decisions for many years to come. After all, it is primarily labor which is affected by terms of peace treaties—whether the treaties concern reparations, transfer of minorities, changing of boundaries, or economic provisions. Nothing could do more to guarantee a constructive, democratic peace than the determined and clear voice of labor on a world-wide scale. Labor, which justifiably voices its objections to a Murphy, to the continued recognition of Franco and other evidences of appeasement, has a responsibility for providing a constructive and clear program. The time has passed when we can express our views by throwing pot shots at events as they arise.

In the March issue of FREE WORLD, Jiri Stolz stated: ". . . [labor] has always kept alive the vivid flame of humanity and international solidarity lighted by its founders." True enough. But organization on a new scale is now needed. While our various national conventions have expressed policy on matters dealing with the war and peace, the time has now come for labor on a world-wide scale to move forward toward a positive, unified and progressive program for the post-war world.

After the last war the Allied armies of occupation in Germany had the choice of dealing with the democratic organizations, including the labor organizations, or reactionary groups. They chose to deal with the very employers who brought on World War I and provided Hitler with the means of bringing on World War II. Very few of us in labor support the "soft peace" program for Germany. Our determination to deal strongly with Germany, however, does not close our eyes to the necessity for seeking out democratic organizations and individuals within Germany for the purpose of punishing war criminals and rooting out Nazism, and eventually building a democratic country. Who in the United Nations can more readily do this job than the labor unions? Who can better assure the extension of democracy to the colonial countries and the carrying of the Four Freedoms throughout the world?

The time is short. The task is great. The postponed international labor conference must be held and held soon.

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Progress of the Struggle

by NORMAN ANGELL

IF history is to repeat itself, and precedent to be followed, the time has now come for the alliance which has won this war to begin to break up, as a prelude to throwing away our victory, as we threw away our previous victory, so that the children of the returning soldiers will have to go out twenty years hence and fight for the victory all over again; just as the soldiers now fighting have had to follow in the footsteps of their fathers.

No comment of history is more hackneyed than this; that the unity and cooperation we manage for war begin to break up when we enter the years of peace. Why is this?

It is not that anyone wants disunity, but we shall not maintain our unity merely by loud declaration on the part of all that they are all for it. Of course they are. Nobody says, "Let's be disunited; let's quarrel." Disunity and quarrels don't arise in that way, ever. They arise in the case of international relationships when the parties to an arrangement come to regard the interests which conflict, or seem at a given moment to conflict, as more important than the common interest. In wartime we do usually achieve agreement and unity of action (as witness the magnificent team work of the very mixed forces fighting under General Eisenhower) because the common interest of defeating the enemy in order to survive as nations is so obvious, so clear, so insistent, that other interests which possibly conflict are recognized as minor and secondary. In wartime we manage not to quarrel because we realize that if our hostility pushed an Ally out of the war we might either be defeated, or victory made enormously more costly, demanding greater slaughter of our youth, greater sacrifice of every kind. In wartime we have usually a lively sense of our need of the other fellow, need of him for our own security, defense, survival.

But repeated experience shows that as soon as peace comes this sense of our need of the other fellow diminishes or passes away. Yet if wars are won in wartime, they are prevented in peacetime. Terms of peace, like those we are now discussing for Germany, cannot be maintained save by the same unity and cooperation we manage to achieve for war. And prolonged cooperation which demands, of course, a certain amount of give and take and sacrifice on each one's part, is impossible if those engaged in it do not believe it to be necessary; if each party to it is convinced that he can make sure of his own security and peace by his own unaided efforts. If that is the prevailing conviction our wartime association will soon dissolve.

To insist that the proper basis of cooperation is the self-interest of those party to it, is not to take refuge in cynicism, but to provide a basis which alone can ensure the self-respect of all parties. An American commentator said very wisely the other day that the French would come almost to hate the British and the Americans if the latter take the attitude that France is

UNITED NATIONS— TILL PEACE DO US PART?

The Allies have few differences in wartime—because the price of dissension is the greater slaughter of our young men. But if in peace we indulge in new hatreds, the price will be paid by young men twenty years from now.

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eternally in their debt because Anglo-American forces "rescued" her. Hate is perhaps too strong a word to use. But very few ever come to love their creditors, and human nature is such that very many never manage to forgive those who have done them a valuable service. It is all wrong to talk of French indebtedness to Britain or the United States—at least it is all wrong for Englishmen or Americans so to talk. Britain and America have gone to war twice in a single generation on behalf of the defence of France because the defence of that country is indispensable to their own.

If Hitler had managed to bring about the permanent German domination of France, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Norway, to say nothing of the other continental states he temporarily overcame, the subjugation of Britain would only have been a matter of time, and a short time at that. If Britain had fallen in 1940 and her ports, factories, shipping, resources, had fallen into Hitler's hands, together with Malta, Gibraltar, and the Suez Canal, it would then have been the turn of the United States to be put in mortal peril. If the defence of France is indispensable to British security, the defence of Britain is indispensable to American security.

The more that this defensive interdependence is realized the easier will our continued cooperation become. But even at that, even if these strategic truths were more widely realized than they are (it is one of the urgent needs of our time to make them more familiar) there would remain many strange inexplicable things about the tendency of certain nations to bicker and quarrel as soon as peace comes.

SOME nations seem to have the gift of being universally disliked, none more so perhaps (forgetting for the moment Germany and Japan which are in a special category) than Great Britain. Only the other day Mr. George Sokolsky in his column wrote:

> Lots of Americans do not like the British. In fact it is astonishing that as sentiment grows more favorable to the Russians it grows more unfavorable towards the British; they enjoy discovering flaws in British policy and action. Churchill, more than any man in history undermined anti-British feeling in the United States. He has been so liked here that he has reduced the antagonism for his country.

This comment by the way was made in connection with the rumor that Churchill has some plan for "interfering" in the Presidential election on behalf of Mr. Roosevelt. The fact that such a rumor can gain currency at all is itself a strange comment on the nature of public opinion in international relationships. The rumor attributes to Mr. Churchill the desire to see Mr. Roosevelt re-elected, but at the same time attributes to him a maneuver which would be more calculated than any other one thing he could do to defeat Mr. Roosevelt. To attribute this intention to Churchill at all is to represent him as a complete and absolute "political idiot" as Hitler might put it. And Churchill does not happen to be a political idiot; he has spent a lifetime in politics, is half American and familiar with the American political field. But even if this were not so, a maneuver to "intervene" in the election could only come about with the connivance, and on the advice, of Mr. Roosevelt, so that the "political idiocy" would have to extend to the President, too. It

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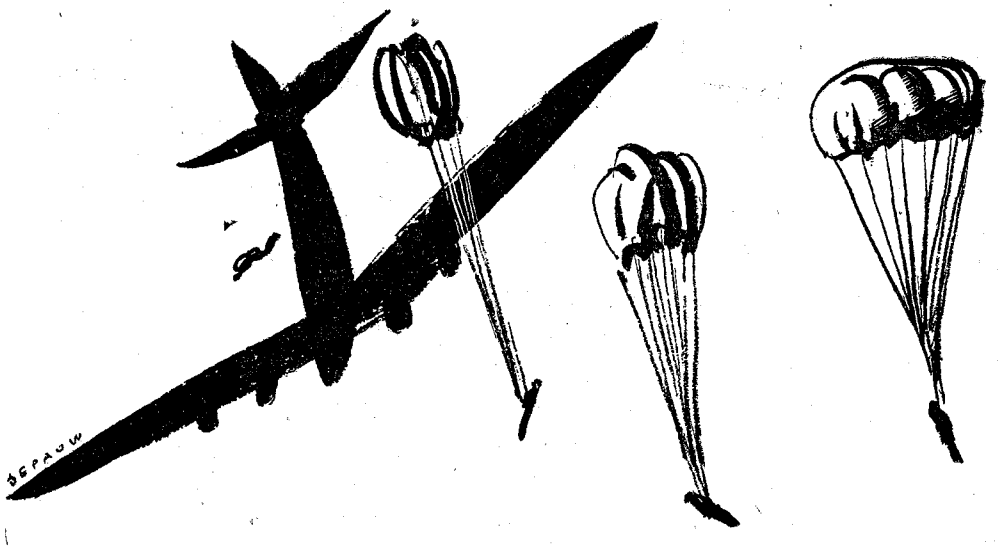
is unlikely that both the Prime Minister and the President have been stricken with a strange political blindness at one and the same time. Yet the rumor gains currency.

THE simple fact of dislike of the British to which Mr. Sokolsky calls attention can hardly be denied. I once made to an American friend the remark that I thought the British the most disliked people in the world, and added that British influence in history and in the world must have been very evil indeed, or British character very detestable, for such deep hostility to have lasted so long. My friend stared at me open-mouthed with some shade of resentment in his expression. "You," he exclaimed, "say that to *me*." Then I remembered and understood. My friend was a Jew. He went on: "Do you suggest for a moment that the hostility or animus which the Briton encounters in the world is to be compared either in depth or in universality to that which the Jew faces? And if you suggest that Anglophobia must be due either to wrongs inflicted by Britain or to the nature of the British character, do you then suppose anti-Semitism—far more wide-spread than Anglophobia—is due to wrongs which we Jews have inflicted on the world, or to the detestable nature of our personal characters? Do you wonder I was hurt?"

Our talk brought out this fact: anti-Semitism can and often does exist in people who have never in their lives seen a Jew. (The deep South of Klu Klux Klan days could furnish many examples.) In such cases at least the feeling must come from something within the Jew hater, something subjective, unrelated to external fact, such facts as wrongs the Jew may have inflicted, or the particular qualities of "Jewish character." (One Jew differs, of course, from another as much as one Britisher differs from another. An Anglophobe once remarked: "I like the Scotch, I like the Welsh; I like the Lancashire people who talk like Gracie Fields; I like the Cockney. What I detest is the British.")

If we are to tackle at all scientifically the problem of getting thirty-five or forty United Nations to remain united in the extremely difficult years ahead; if there is not to be hopeless disintegration like that which marked the morrow of the previous victory over Germany and gave Germany the chance to make her disastrous comeback, then some of these subjective psychological factors of the problem must be faced more thoroughly than we have faced them in the past. Their danger lies in the fact that they make the small and minor thing seem of such vast importance, while the vital thing is hidden in the mists of reasonless hate. The fog created by these enmities hides the trap which the enemy will set for our common undoing.



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Dumbarton Oaks— And After?

WHEN the major Allies met in Washington, Quebec, Moscow, Cairo and Teheran, the people of the world knew that those were essentially military conferences dedicated to the successful prosecution of the war.

The first conference of World War II which has been entirely devoted to the establishment of an international organization, to the prevention of wars in the future, is the Dumbarton Oaks Conference.

Public opinion in the Allied countries, no longer so worried as in previous years about the outcome of the war, has turned its attention to Dumbarton Oaks. That is why the Editors of FREE WORLD, *following their established habit of being present at every important international event, decided to hold the present Round Table in Washington.*

The participants in the Round Table are all experts on international affairs, and for many years have followed developments in the international scene. Burnet Hershey, foreign correspondent, author of the book, Air Future, *and editorial writer of* FREE WORLD, *presided. The participants were: Leon Henderson, economist and radio commentator; William Hillman, Washington correspondent for* Collier's *and radio commentator for the Blue Network; Sir Willmott Lewis, veteran Washington correspondent of the London* Times; *Pertinax, well known French journalist and author of the book,* The Gravediggers of France; *Paul Scott Rankine, representative of* Reuters *news agency in the United States; Richard Strout, Washington correspondent of the* Christian Science Monitor.

ESSENTIAL FINDINGS

1 There is a broad agreement among the major powers on the establishment of an International Security Organization, composed of an Executive Council, an Assembly and a World Court.

2 If Germany is permitted to establish herself again as a great center of power, the possibility of successful accord among America, Soviet Russia and Great Britain will be seriously affected.

3 Should the United States again withdraw into isolation, the Western Hemisphere will be in danger; for example, by an alliance between Argentina and Brazil versus North America.

4 The major task of the Dumbarton Oaks Conference is to establish international legislation and the necessary power to enforce that legislation.

5 The most effective weapon to enforce peace will be air power.

6 In the present stage of Dumbarton Oaks, there will be in use two kinds of veto powers against the application of sanctions: one is the veto power of the major United Nations and of the two representatives of the smaller nations; the second, that of the American Senate.

Seven ace correspondents and news commentators discuss the security organization. ***See next page.***

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ROUND TABLE No. 27

BURNET HERSHEY—This Round Table is meeting while the Dumbarton Oaks Conference is still in session. Despite the implications of a conference shrouded in secrecy, we do know this, that there are three points of broad agreement to create: 1. A Council; 2. An Assembly; 3. A World Court. I think we are all agreed that as far as Great Britain, Russia and China are concerned, once the full draft is accepted by these governments the ratification of the Agreement is a foregone conclusion. The American position, alone, is hemmed in with doubt and uncertainty.

I should like to ask Bill Hillman to tell us if he thinks there is a remedy for partisanship in matters of United States foreign policy.

William Hillman—No; I do not think there is any remedy at all, and I think whatever conclusion is reached at Dumbarton Oaks, the important question is what is going to be done about settlement of certain boundaries. The Senate is pretty sure to hold up final decision on any international organization until they can get what they call a token of what political settlements will come out of the war. They will make the point that setting up an organization to maintain peace may mean setting up machinery to maintain a certain status, and that it is important first to know what is the status of the world at peace, and what steps will be taken on the outstanding political questions.

Hershey—In other words, America's position in relation to the Blank Check?

Hillman—Yes.

Hershey—Don't you see in this somewhat of a similarity to the situation of 1919?

Hillman—There is no exact parallel. We are much nearer to an agreement than we were the last time. We have made progress. Whatever isolationist sentiment there is in the Senate will not have the encouragement it had last time. Where it is likely to get encouragement is from bad handling, or perhaps from some premature handling. But the outlook is much better than it was in 1919 and 1920.

Paul Scott Rankine—In what particular ways is it better now than it was in 1919 or 1920?

Hillman—Well, today, the leaders of both parties are pretty much in agreement on the necessity of an international organization and both seem to stress the need for an organization with power to act and to act quickly. I believe the outlook is much better.

Sir Willmott Lewis—It doesn't give any promise of results.

Hillman—I don't understand.

Sir Willmott—The foreign policy of a country is a generalization based on the history and experience of the entire people. I think the foreign policy which the American people are now asked to adopt is one which offers a complete over-turning of all their traditional thinking. It is therefore one of difficulty for them.

I do not criticize any doubts that may exist in the United States. But we have reached the point where there is no longer a margin for error such as may have been assumed at one time. There is no longer *any* margin for error. The world has shrunk; the world is a small world, and because it is a small world, it is more interdependent in the strategic sense and there is no longer any time for argumentation on one central fact.

When we talk about freedom from fear, we mean freedom from fear of Germany, for a very simple reason. When this war is won there will be three centers of power—Russia, America and Britain.

Our first thought is the reaching of an accord between those three centers of power, and if a fourth center of power is allowed to grow up, there is only one point in the world at which it might grow in any immediate future, and that is Germany. If

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Germany is permitted to establish herself as a great center of power, the possibility of successful accord between Russia and Britain and America will be seriously affected. Our central problem therefore concerns the treatment of Germany.

Hillman—Are you eliminating any discussion of the possibility of a center of power in China?

Sir Willmott—I am talking now of the next two generations, which is all that any reasonable man can look forward to.

Hillman—What do you mean by the "next two generations"?

Sir Willmott—The next fifty years.

Hershey—I wonder if "freedom from fear" doesn't mean rather the desire of men and women to look forward—the desire for improvement of living everywhere. Unemployment is bound to come when we have depressions, and unemployment often leads to ideological concepts which may themselves become nationalistic and lead to war.

Sir Willmott—Until we reach the point where there is freedom from fear *between* nations, there will be no freedom from fear *within* nations. And fear between nations would necessarily stem from any revival of Germany as a center of military power. As for European history, the central fear has for a century been Germany. And I doubt any generalization concerning the shifting position of a country from friend to enemy.

Pertinax—In Europe, from 1815, the same great powers have more often than not been found together. The exception is Russia, which, in 1892 and 1907, joined hands with France and then with England, as her permanent interests had changed.

Richard Strout—I think it would be hard to get the American people to support an organization that was directed primarily against Germany. You would never get an agreement through Congress directed wholly against one nation.

Sir Willmott—I do not suggest that an international agreement should be directed against Germany at all. I do suggest that primary measures, because conditions in the world are what they are, must be directed against Germany. The center of this whole situation is Berlin. No member of the Axis could have done what it did without Germany, and I include Japan.

It would have been utterly impossible for Japan to have done more than dream of a "co-prosperity sphere" if there had not been a German war. Japan was not equipped, had not the resources, had not the strength to attempt anything that she is now attempting, without a balancing partner in Europe. And that is Germany.

The key to peace for the next two generations is the removal of fear that Germany will re-emerge as a great center of military power.

"The center of the whole situation is Berlin!"

—Lewis

Rankine—Aren't we confusing two very different problems: one, the needs of the Peace Treaty at the end of the war; the other, the part to be played by an international Security Organization in maintaining peace after the end of the war? One decides what sort of peace settlement you have, and the other how you maintain it or maintain peace with or despite it. The questions of frontiers and of what to do with Germany are matters for the Peace Treaty. At Dumbarton Oaks I presume they are simply discussing the technical question of machinery to maintain peace by an international security organization.

Hershey—Which would you have first?

Rankine—I don't see why work on these two projects shouldn't proceed side by side. They have got to fit in with each other anyway. A nation's ideas about international organization will be determined, to a large extent, by the geopolitical considerations which are in turn determined by frontiers and economic factors decided upon in the peace settlement. But the special task of Dumbarton Oaks is to find a technical formula—which may be as complex as that for penicillin or sulfanila-

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mide—capable of eliminating the disease of war from international society.

Hershey—It all reminds one of the Butterscotch Man in Davy and the Goblins. I don't know whether you remember how he couldn't run until he got warmed up, and he couldn't get warmed up until he ran. We are going to be unable to get a ratification by the U. S. Senate of a world organization until we are able to settle the problem of frontiers, as Mr. Hillman said.

Hillman—Yes, but I don't mean all frontier or political questions can or should be solved first. But I am certain the Senate would want a token of the spirit in which the powers are going to act by raising an important political issue in advance to final agreement on an international organization. This political dispute, this boundary question, will involve, as a matter of fact, most anything—for instance, Germany. Germany is the key, just as Sir Willmott said.

Sir Willmott—Isn't it better to start from the center than to start from the circumference?

Hillman—Certainly, that is my point.

Sir Willmott—Where is the center?

Hillman—Germany.

Leon Henderson—That is not the center as far as Mr. Dulles and Mr. Dewey are concerned. Russia is the center for them.

Strout—The question was raised here before as to what are the differences between now and 1920. Woodrow Wilson has lived and died. Woodrow Wilson's failure is the thing that may make this thing a success. His contribution to this may be his own failure.

Our nation has had that experience in the past. We have had this second war, and now I think a great many Americans approach the idea of world organization with an open mind. If the United States doesn't join such an organization there seems no way by which this country can agree to help keep Germany under control, or any other country under control. So the question of whether we join a world organization comes first, it seems to me.

Hershey—I should like to ask—hypothetically—what will Britain do if we fail to agree and there is no world organization?

Sir Willmott—We have had an arrangement with Russia for twenty years. But if the United States doesn't join this international organization, what is going to happen in the Western Hemisphere? It is a pretty pertinent question, it seems to me. If the United States should remain in isolation, what is going to happen in the Western Hemisphere?

Hershey—I don't think the United States will ever withdraw completely into the shell of isolation again. Since 1823, it has never been so isolationist that it failed to recognize its responsibilities—for example, towards Latin America . . . the whole Pan-American idea—we won't give that up!

Henderson—Yes, but Sir Willmott's question is a good one! The Monroe Doctrine may be protection against aggression from without. But what will happen if Brazil and Argentina make an alliance—Latin America versus North America? We have no traditional policy on that yet.

Sir Willmott—It is an acute and important question, my friend. Remember that the United States today is in a singularly difficult position. On the one hand, it objects to what is known as power. It objects theoretically, but you know that when you recognize or do not recognize a particular government in Latin America, you are exercising power. Your recognition or non-recognition is equally an expression of power.

Henderson—Recognition or non-recognition *is* the exercise of power.

Hershey—You throw immediately, then, into this discussion the hot potato known as regionalism.

Sir Willmott—Yes. The regional idea was implicit in President Monroe's doctrine of 1823.

Henderson—We haven't abandoned the interest we had in South America from that day. The Rio Conference represents the strongest statement of foreign policy that we have today. The Rio Conference represents our greatest interest in foreign affairs.

Sir Willmott—You do not think for a moment that regionalism will disappear, do you, from any world that we, or our children, are likely to live in?

Hershey—Well, I don't think it should be fostered.

Sir Willmott—Still, in 1823, President Monroe commenced to foster it.

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Henderson—The Monroe Doctrine is as much an element of British policy as American.

Sir Willmott—That is right. You don't think Britain is going to give up her interest in Western Europe?

Henderson—No.

Sir Willmott—You don't think that Russia is going to give up her interest in those western boundaries of Russia which are, for her, a form of irredentism? You don't think that will happen within the lives of any of us or our children?

Henderson—I want to register a disagreement on irredentism on Russia's part. That has been the excuse put forward.

Sir Willmott—It has been the excuse put forward by many a nation.

Henderson—I do not think the reason is sentimental. I think it is protectionism.

Hershey—It can't be compared at all with the Pan-American concept. But to return to the subject of the Dumbarton Oaks Conference, certainly the big powers are going to dominate the proposed Assembly of Nations. Then we have the small countries. So what are going to be the basic principles on problems facing the Council and the Assembly? To reply to this question I believe we must also turn to the experiences of the past. The failure of the League of Nations was caused by several things: The American isolationist policy; no attempt to use its power, and the failure of economic restrictions, especially in time of depression; Japanese aggression in the Far East coming right at the depths of the depression, and the inability of the United States and Great Britain to get together.

As a matter of fact, Secretary of State Stimson, in 1931, when neither America nor Britain was really ready, found there was, in the final analysis, no weapon then for enforcing the findings of the League of Nations. And so its teeth never developed. It failed.

In any revolutionary state, we have to start off, first of all, with the establishment of law, beginning with Common Law, then Legislation, then Courts. This means that police power can be used if necessary. The line of thought must be carried still further.

As we move toward the possibility of a world organization for peace, laws must be established. The Dumbarton Oaks Conference is moving toward the establishment of that legislation.

It is also moving toward the establishment of a Court before which culprits must be brought when they have been found to be violating the laws of the nations. The Council then becomes somewhat of an executive, and it will have to be able to call into action, if necessary, some sort of agency of force.

"Perhaps air power is the most economical police force."

—Hershey

Now, air power has come forward as a new thing, and a very deadly weapon. Perhaps air power is the most economical police force in the long run. That is to be explored, though, by the nations in the organization. I hate to think that we may have to threaten to bomb people from the air again.

Sir Willmott—Let me add a word to that. There is one thing worse than injustice, and that is justice when it does not carry a sword in its hand.

Hershey—That is right!

Sir Willmott—Mankind will have to be very much nobler than it is before you can avoid the truth of that statement.

Rankine—I think if you start making elaborate laws for the preservation of the peace and laying down elaborate machinery for the enforcement of them, you will very soon find some aggressor nation devising a smart way of getting round these laws and splitting world public opinion on the question of their interpretation. That was precisely what Hitler did in the interwar period with appeals to the principles of self determination over the Sudetenland and to the principles enunciated in the Covenant of the League. I know the

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traditional American approach is to start like the founding fathers with a written constitution. If something goes wrong everyone demands that Congress "make a law about it." That is an excellent safeguard for civil liberties and the rule of law. But building up an international security organization is a different problem. If you attempt to draft elaborate hy-

"Let us deal with each situation as it arises."

—Rankine

potheses and specific legislated methods of dealing with each, opponents of the scheme will seize on the hypotheses and the methods and dilate on what terrible consequences will follow from each, one by one. Groups will be formed in opposition to each item and ultimately these groups will unite to sweep American participation in a world organization into the ocean. Thus even if an international-legislative approach were a practicable way of maintaining world peace it would be unattainable.

No, I believe our approach to the problem should be a functional one. Let us set up the institutional machinery whereby those who are genuinely and vitally interested in world peace can collaborate continuously and harmoniously and deal with each situation as it arises. Once you have the organization you can make your laws as you go along by precedent and practical usage—a sort of international common law. In the same way you can determine in practice what sort of sanctions and how you apply them.

Henderson—It is a question of whether you impose your own sanctions. I should like to hear some discussion as to whether the world organization would enforce anything that it decides on.

Sir Willmott—You will recall St. Paul's remark: "The strength of men is the law." (Laughter.) Many a time the Constitution and the Bill of Rights have been the last refuge of the scoundrel.

Henderson—My point, Sir Willmott, is that from '36 on, in the questions that came before the League, the Spanish question and so forth, there was no way that it could function effectively.

Strout—Aren't you saying there that the strength of the new organization will not depend on the organization itself, but on the public opinion of the countries involved? Certainly we are better off to have the strength of public opinion plus an organization, than to have no organization at all! We should try to have both.

Sir Willmott—What do you mean by "public opinion"? Public opinion in one country or in all countries?

Strout—I was thinking of the United States, but it is true of all countries.

Sir Willmott—How are you going to get public opinion in the United States to decide it?

Hershey—The Gallup Poll has shown, time and again, that American public opinion is in favor of an organization of peace with some relinquishment of sovereignty.

Rankine—Acceptance of the influence of "effective" public opinion is implicit in Sir Willmott's maxim that each nation starts out from the point of view of its own national tradition, in search of the same goal as ourselves. The Americans start out from the conception of a written Constitution and protective legislation.

Hillman—I don't think that is necessarily the American conception. You do have to begin with certain basic principles. You cannot allow a League having a number of individual men representing individual nations to deal, as you say, with each problem that arises without having some basic conception.

Rankine—I agree entirely that you should have basic principles—guiding principles. What I am saying is that you shouldn't attempt to lay down at the beginning elaborate procedures whereby under such and such circumstances you should behave in such and such a way. That would be fatal—an invitation to any clever aggressor to drive a tank and horses through the loopholes in the law.

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Hillman—The procedure should be as flexible as possible. However, we are all very anxious to see the important automatic obligations for action specified.

Sir Willmott—That is it.

Henderson—I think, Mr. Chairman, this is all very interesting, but will the whole thing work? Dumbarton Oaks has already agreed on three principles, regardless of whether they will have an international air force or whether they will have regionalism with each one of the big fellows taking the responsibility for keeping the little fellows in line. Now, as it is set up in relation to the American Constitution, there will be a veto power against the use of sanction or force against a potential aggressor in the proposed world organization.

Hershey—Who holds the veto power?

Henderson—There is a veto power by any one of the four or five.

Hillman—You are assuming that that is the plan that will be worked out?

Henderson—Yes, on the basis of what we know today. And since all three of the major parties have indicated an agreement and there has been some statement of a general proposition, I assume that is it. I doubt if they would go in unless there were that veto power. Well, then, you get down to *another* veto power which is the American Congress. Because, unless the Willkie suggestion is followed——

Hillman—What is that?

Henderson—Willkie's suggestion is that the President shall have the power to declare war without recourse to Congress. The President now has power to declare war only in case of invasion or threatened invasion. He has no power—would have no power—to use the military forces of the United States Government to quell any incipient riot, shall we say, by any nation.

Now, I assume, or my belief is, that we are not going to enact the required Constitutional amendment. We are not going to give that power to a president. And that means that the justice of every issue involving the use of an international organization to compel peace is going to land down here at Capitol Hill.

Sir Willmott—You have forgotten the powers of the President as Commander-in-Chief.

Henderson—No, I haven't.

Hershey—At least four wars have been declared by a President, if my memory serves me.

Sir Willmott—One instance that occurs to me was Nicaragua.

Henderson—Well, now, say the United States is part of a world organization. The organization takes up a dispute and there comes the question that a particular nation is an aggressor, or a potential aggressor, and should be disciplined. There is first a veto power by each of the four or five major nations in the Council, and then it gets down to whether or not we will go along, or whether or not we veto. So, it comes back to the American Senate.

Pertinax—You don't suppose for one moment that if the British and Russians consider that action should be taken, you would have the power to stop it?

Strout—No, but America can fail to cooperate with them!

Henderson—That is what I am getting at. As it stands today—looking at the state of public opinion—looking at all this creaking mechanism that must go into action before we can participate in the handling of

"Whether or not we will go along comes back to the Congress."

—Henderson

an individual dispute, how can you be hopeful? I do not agree that there is much difference between now and the situation under the League of Nations. If anything, it is regionalism, balance of power——

Pertinax—Instinctively, we all strive for some balance of power.

Hershey—There is no balance of power in the forty-eight States.

Henderson—No balance of power? Where have I been in the last two years if the decisions of Congress haven't been made by a balance of power in the Southern States?

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Sir Willmott—Consider the use of the power of the United Mine Workers to get higher wages, of the Farm Bloc to get higher prices. There is a catalyst in all politics, domestic or international, which never changes, and that catalyst is power.

Hershey—Well, yes, if we are thinking in terms of groups or pressure groups as balance of power. I am using the term in the sense it has acquired in international relations. There is no chance of the Southern States' declaring war on the rest of the Union. But there was a balance all through the 19th century for the sole purpose of the use of force. In other words, a balance of power as we have thought of it in the past meant that several nations get together for the sole purpose of putting over something on another nation. This frequently either led to war, or offered protection against a powerful neighbor or combination.

Pertinax—The war of 1914 broke out because, on account of the apparent aloofness of England, Germany believed that the Triple Entente could not balance the Triple Alliance.

Sir Willmott—Before 1914 there had been a period when the balance of power existed in Europe, but the real balance lay with England, which could throw its weight on one side or the other. When the Germans announced in 1900 their great naval program, certain things immediately happened. The first—I was in the Far East when that happened—was the Anglo-Japanese Alliance which enabled us to withdraw naval power from the East to the Mediterranean and the North Sea. The second was the understanding with France. The third was with Russia.

And what happened? Great Britain had moved over to the Continent of Europe; so you had the Triple Alliance, the Triple Entente. The position that had been occupied by Great Britain had passed to the United States, and if the United States at that time had said, "No; we shall intervene on one side or the other to prevent a general war," we should not have had a general war.

The object of the balance of power was peace.

Henderson—Also social progress, economic progress.

Sir Willmott—But the first thing is peace.

Hershey—Mr. Henderson asked which one of these nations would have the right to veto.

Henderson—Yes, for do you think the United States Senate will ever give up its sovereign rights and let somebody else decide whether it would use its power to fight—I mean, on any majority basis of an international organization?

Hershey—Then, Mr. Henderson, we have not learned the lesson that the Europeans have. The Europeans are willing to give up a modicum of power for peace.

Strout—If they don't, we are wasting a lot of time.

Henderson—You are making my point for me. There will be a spare wheel, and the other nations—France, Russia, England—are apt to want the United States to be it. But I say the United States is not going to be the spare wheel. It will be one of the real ones. And this Dumbarton Oaks is likely to be a wish and a hope and an experiment a little better than the League was for the very reason that we may perhaps participate in it.

Sir Willmott—It means your retention of sovereignty is important.

Henderson—Retention would be considered as important.

Sir Willmott—Remember Professor Corwin's saying: If total war is the price of total sovereignty, the price is too high.

Hershey—But Mr. Henderson made the point the Senate is not going to give the power for the United States to really function in the organization.

Sir Wilmott—American teeth will not be in it? Then it will not work.

Hillman—There is no real inconsistency. With the present stage of international development, the balance of power has become international organization.

Pertinax—Not quite. Secondary powers may be prevented from playing the game of the balance of power. But, at the top of the system, the great powers are bound to think in terms of balance of power and that fact will not necessarily impede the workings of the system. Quite the contrary.

Rankine—I think the old balance of power emerges naturally and logically into a new and better one. Mr. Hershey spoke of the balance of power whereby a few na-

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tions arrange it to put something over on the others. Well, that's what they are doing now but in this case the thing they are trying to put over on the world is world peace itself—and if for no other—for equally selfish reasons. The three nations represented at Dumbarton Oaks have a real and immediate vested interest in "World" peace in a sense in which other nations do not. Russia with the longest and most frequently invaded frontiers in the world realizes that a world peace is vital because a major part of world population infringes upon her frontiers. Dependent for physical survival on trade routes which encircle the globe, everyone in Britain knows that a threat to peace anywhere is a threat to her lifeline somewhere. United States similarly is enmeshed in world interdependence. The American people know for example that full employment in U. S. A. is dependent on peaceful and plentiful commercial relationships with the rest of the world. Finally they know that keeping out of a third world war would be as impossible as keeping out of the previous ones.

Hershey—We could not stand another war. Mr. Henderson, this is going to be an economic question. I think we all agree that implicit in the Dumbarton agreement we will find the words "economic stability." We are all quite aware that this lack was at the root of many of our troubles. What basic principles of economic reconstruction do you see as a corollary to the security organization? In other words, have you a plan?

Henderson—I haven't any plan. What I am looking for is what should be the interest of the Big Five which will make such plans almost instantly—plans which may go a long way toward protection against aggression. I do not think, of course, that the reasons are entirely military. I do not discount such reasons, but I think economic interests being joined would mean a great deal more.

I tried to see why sanctions were not used in the Manchurian situation or the Abyssinian situation or, more potently, the Spanish situation, or in the case of Czechoslovakia, Austria, and so forth. Now, it was evident then that there was a real conflict of interests of the major powers.

Strout—You mean economic?

Henderson—Yes. And I do not see that we are going to sense our joinder of economic interests in time to make possible this international organization now. I think we will come to it after there is a general recognition that the standards of living and well-being of the world are tied together, and that these standards are tied also to the peace.

I think we are drifting away, particularly in this country, from the idea that it is necessary to have economic agreements which will really help rehabilitate the world.

Hershey—If a nation makes an agreement and violates its contract, then what power will the world organization have to force it to keep this contract?

Henderson – The world organization would have the power, and it is the one to exercise it. But I do not believe that we should ask the rest of the participants in Dumbarton Oaks and the potential participants in the Assembly to think that there has been a tremendously radical change in the United States Congress. Since it comes down to that point, I should like somebody to assure me that Congress is going to act differently than it has in the past.

Sir Willmott—You do not have to prove the point that Congress will not act differently.

Henderson—And I sense a fear of that. What I am afraid of is that assemblies like this may, in their enthusiasm and their hopes and desires, try to convey to people of other countries that there has been a radical change.

Strout—I wanted to say right here something that is emotionally strong in my mind. I have just come back from England and have seen these robot bombs! There

"War of the future will be a matter of pressing buttons!"

—Strout

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seems to be an urgency about these problems that people do not seem to realize. Wars are not going to be as they were in the past. After this war is over I can see a Europe in which robot bombs are aimed from one nation at every other nation's capital city. It is not going to be a situation in which you can write a letter and hold a conference next month. The war of the future is going to be a matter of pressing buttons, and these robots will go over and demolish a city in a few minutes.

Never before in history has there been such a need for action if we are to maintain peace. Mankind has always been helpless to halt the development of those very machines that might destroy civilization, and with acceleration of invention we are more helpless now in this respect than ever before in the history of mankind.

"A Treaty not of mutual benefit is on the verge of being wrecked."

—Hillman

Hillman—I think what you are indicating is just another development in the method of people tearing their agreements up. The moment a treaty or agreement is not of mutual benefit to all the parties entering into that treaty, it is already on the verge of being wrecked. What I think is essential—and I repeat what I have stated from the very beginning—we are not going to see any change of heart in Congress until, in addition to the structure we propose to erect, we begin to get some token indications of what it is possible to do when certain powers of goodwill, now cooperating, pledge themselves to start in on a new path of agreement. I think the token settlements, if they will begin at the beginning, will make a vast difference in the attitude of Congress.

Sir Willmott—The first thing these big powers can do, if they can keep together, is to say that, "Well, for a number of years it is guaranteed that peace and order shall exist. During this period in which peace and order exist you can shuffle these other matters and draw up a plan, design and pattern of frontier settlements—this settlement, that settlement, and the other."

But the first imperative demand is that there shall be peace and order that can only be guaranteed by the principal military powers, and we, sitting together, agree that we will guarantee peace and order. We are thinking in terms of a method of settling these disputes, which is completely outmoded; that is, the method of armistice, then peace conference, followed by peace treaties. War is the result of tensions and hostilities which grow until they break out in fighting. Do not assume, for a minute, that these tensions will be removed. They will, in many respects, have been exaggerated by the growth of extreme nationalism during the war.

Having begun with the establishment of an organization, let us call it, we have to adjust these tensions and hostilities. We have to change our approach to the method of bringing about a peaceful world.

Hillman—But there is a question which cannot be waived, and that is the question of the bona fides of the powers, and some token settlement.

Sir Willmott—Token settlement of what? Of the Polish borders?

Hillman—Well, that may very well be a token settlement.

Sir Willmott—That seems to me to be putting the cart before the horse. It is a dangerous way.

Hershey—Pertinax, I would like to get your view of this observation of Mr. Hillman's.

Pertinax—I am not sure I understand exactly what he said. You mean, America must have a chance to appreciate what the other powers make of the material force at their command before America joins the world organization?

Hillman—That's right.

Pertinax—Well, the enforcement of the various treaties of armistice all over Europe will give a clue—and very quickly.

Henderson—Or India.

Hillman—Yes. I am saying that Congress

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cannot be won over until there is some token indication—perhaps "token" is a bad word.

Pertinax—Our American friends are perhaps too much inclined to think in terms of universal settlements, of formulas valid for all nations and all future times. All-embracing treaties, in our judgment, are too ambitious. When they are put to the test, they are likely to prove disappointing. He who pledges himself toward everybody to do anything does not really pledge himself to anything. Such is the lesson taught by the Geneva League. Within a flexible organization treaties concluded for a definite purpose between a restricted number of powers are sure to serve better general peace.

As our friend said in the beginning, the goal we must have in view is preserving the peace for twenty-five years or thirty years. For nearly half a century, Germany has been the cause of the convulsions of Europe and the convulsions of Europe have become the convulsion of the world. The consolidation of victorious Russia will put an end to pan-Germanism. This great advantage is now being won.

We take it for granted that Russia will remain on friendly terms with England and the United States. Every peace system today must be based on that assumption. Will the three great powers part with each other tomorrow? I hope not. At any rate, the peace system now under consideration cannot provide against that kind of emergency.

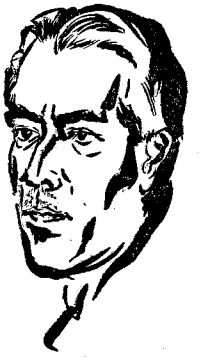
Sir Willmott—In other words, there are a great many who believe, with curious insistence, that unless things are universal the United States can have nothing to do with them.

But there is one thing which it is imperative to do at once, and that is to set up collaboration of the three great military powers now existing—France has still to become a great military power, and it will be a long time before China becomes one. Collaboration between these three great powers now existing would have for its purpose to prevent any resumption of aggression in any immediate future.

Does anybody at the table believe that there will be a peace treaty in the sense that there was a peace treaty in 1919? Do you believe that there should be a peace

"Will the three great Powers part? I hope not!"

—Pertinax



treaty in the 1919 sense? I hope to God there isn't.

Hillman—You had several treaties at the end of the last war, not just one treaty at Versailles.

Sir Willmott—But there was a general peace treaty. I hope in the name of high heaven that nothing of the kind will be attempted.

Hillman—There will have to be some parallel action. And I am certain there should be no difficulty about the bona fides. The time is ripe for statesmanship, in the Senate as elsewhere. The Senate today is not what it was at the close of the last war.

Strout—I am not so discouraged as most of you people seem to be about this thing getting through the Congress.

Sir Willmott—What is to go through Congress?

Hershey—That is just exactly the crux of the whole thing. Here everyone of the powers gathered together puts its own nationalism first; none has been able to submerge it, to save its neck. Yet we all agree we have to bring about such economic conditions that there will not be cause for wars.

That means every nation will have to make some sacrifice, give up something it has been holding onto. Whether it be the creation of a bank with a large portion of the gold coming from this country; whether it means Britain will have to give up some of its imperial ties, and the opening up of other markets; whether it means Russia giving up its ideology and not attempting to make Communists of others, which, in one sense, makes it an aggressor power—every power which joins this thing has got to be willing to make some contribution to the pot, and the distribution of those contributions has got to be made by an interna-

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tional agency that has strength enough to enforce its findings.

Sir Willmott—I ought to agree with you as to the sacrifice, but clearly, the economic condition of the world today is highly unbalanced and most of the necessary sacrifices will have to come from the United States.

Unless this, the world's only really great creditor nation, is willing to adjust its trade policies to its creditor position—

Hershey—It puts us in the horrible predicament of having the thing thrown on our shoulders and of having Congress decide the direction matters will take from now on.

Sir Willmott—What we hope for most as a possibility is that when the fighting is over, this country will be stable, will be prosperous, and with a price level somewhat higher than before the war, so that some goods from your debtors can get in under the price level.

Strout—Our own economic contribution to the world will be our own prosperity.

Sir Willmott—Quite right. But you cannot remain stable and prosperous unless you permit the rest of the world to be prosperous.

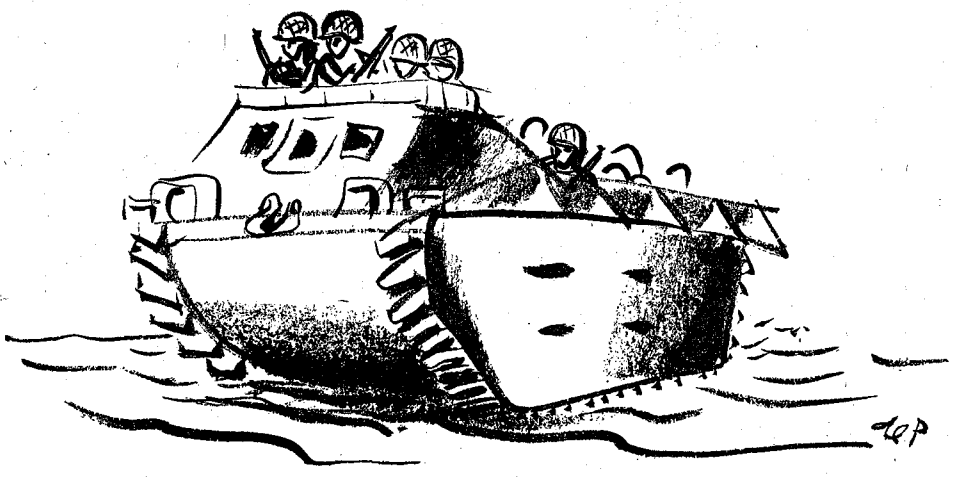
Pertinax—Here the gold accumulated in this country comes into the picture. Will it play a great part in world trade, a part beneficent to this country, beneficent to all? Remember that when one boy has won all the marbles, the game cannot continue.

Sir Willmott—My own feeling is that the question, for instance, asked of the United States is this: Will you be willing to place your military, your political, and your economic power in a relation of mutuality with that of others? Otherwise you will have to maintain an enormous Army, Navy and Air Force at tremendous cost. The only way in which we can reduce forces to some level is by cooperating. And it is precisely to that point that this all comes.

Henderson—I confess a fear that our main reliance is going to be a big Navy and Air Power. I don't mean to indicate that I like it.

Strout—Mr. Chairman, doesn't it come down to this, anything we do involves risks and difficulties, but the greatest risk of all is to do nothing. We have to take on this world organization.

Hershey—Our discussion, gentlemen, reveals that important progress has been made by the major United Nations Governments toward the establishment of an effective system against aggression. But there are still many reservations and constitutional difficulties which handicap the beginnings of the World Security Organization. I believe it is important for public opinion to make clear to the United Nations Governments that the overwhelming majority of the people are less concerned about outmoded notions of absolute sovereignty than for maintenance of peace and prosperity for all.



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NATIONS' STAKE IN *American Reconversion*

By
ROBERT R. NATHAN

The prosperity of common men throughout the world will be affected by our ability to get into high gear quickly in production for peacetime needs.

THE greatest single contribution of the United States to military victory has been in production. Our fighting forces have won great victories on the ground and sea and in the air. We took a major part in clearing the seas of the submarine menace. Our air force has performed brilliantly in all theatres of war, as have the Navy and Ground Forces. Yet, the avalanche of weapons of war from America's industrial plants is the miracle of the United Nations' effort. At the peak of our war output, the United States alone has produced about as much munitions as all the rest of the countries of the world together.

It is probable that the greatest single contribution that the United States can make to world reconstruction lies in the same direction. At the very least, a high level of production in the United States is a prerequisite for our having the resources, the markets, and the buoyant public atmosphere that will enable us to make valuable contributions to world progress outside the sphere of production. A depressed America will be too preoccupied with domestic difficulties to be properly concerned with world affairs. It will offer poor markets for the products of other nations. It will be more than merely a neutral force in the welfare of the rest of the world; it will be a negative force. A prosperous America is the need and hope of world reconstruction.

The problem of re-directing our vast and expanded resources from war to peacetime uses, while maintaining a volume of productive employment at least as great as at present, is a gigantic one. Some transitional unemployment will surely be inevitable. We cannot reduce our war expenditures from a peak of $8 billion per month to a level of perhaps $1 billion per month, within a period of about two years, without experiencing serious dislocations.

In a very important respect, reconversion will be far more difficult than was conversion. The transition to war production took place in the presence of assured increasing demand. Government stood ready to buy all the output manufacturers could produce and to compensate them liberally for all conversion costs. Reconversion will not take place in the framework of assured demand. Even if government were ready to guarantee a high level of *total* demand, of which there is yet little indication, manufacturers would still be inhibited by uncertainties with respect to the *particular products* consumers will want to buy.

We have no peace-time experience of the levels of consumer demand that will be needed to provide jobs for our total labor force. Even with generous allowance for other uses of our national resources, consumers will need to buy 50 percent more goods *in real terms* than they ever bought before. Accumulated demands are confined primarily to durable goods and construction. Rates of production in these categories cannot quickly rise to heights far

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above the record levels of 1940. It will not be easy to determine nor attain speedily the pattern of output and consumption needs for full employment. It is not that our consumers do not need or want more goods and services. Rather it is a matter of flow of income and expenditures on the one hand and of technological and organizational readjustment on the other.

Problems Are Complex

THE technical and organizational problems of the changeover from war to peace production are complex. Mass production of durable goods for peace-time uses cannot be achieved overnight. Contracts for war goods must be canceled; plants must be cleared; some new tools and equipment will be needed; marketing organizations must be reestablished; and war surpluses must be disposed of so as to avoid major conflicts with new production. All these activities must be got well under way while war in the Pacific theatre is probably still in progress and its requirements for materiel still to be met.

Moreover, our labor force has been expanded greatly under war pressures; contraction to peace-time proportions cannot be complete or instantaneous. For these reasons, responsible economists and businessmen believe that—even if the U. S. Government rises fully to its responsibility for the maintenance of total demand and if policies for expediting the transition are developed and well-administered—at the peak of reconversion and demobilization we are likely to have unemployment of the order of 5 to 7 million.

If the American Government does not rise to its responsibility for maintaining total demand, the situation will be much more serious. Despite huge accumulated savings, both by individuals and corporations, the United States may slide from transitional unemployment into a serious depression. The existence of huge unsatisfied demands is no guarantee against this eventuality. There are always, in one sense, huge unsatisfied demands even after years of sustained prosperity. These demands are satisfied only when people actually spend.

When individuals and businessmen are fearful of future possibilities with respect to the utilization of their skills and property, they delay the satisfaction of their demands and the spending of their income. Current income rather than savings must be looked to as the primary source of expenditures. A very small portion of the accumulated savings is in the hands of the lower income groups. Most of it is in the hands of those who will not only not spend it but will tend to save more out of their current income after the war.

A free flow of expenditures during the period of reconversion can be anticipated only if there is a sustained flow of consumers' income and reasonable assurance of better days ahead. Short-run economic policies to sustain the buying power of those temporarily unemployed and long-run policies to assure continued fuller use of our economic resources are necessary if reconversion is not to slide into depression.

Bungling of this reconversion problem would have the most tragic consequences for other countries as well as for the United States. At the present level of U. S. income, with the restoration of normal shipping and even a beginning of European rehabilitation, the United States might soon import $5 billion or $6 billion a year from other countries. This demand would help in the expansion of world production and would supply other countries with dollars to pay for more of their own imports.

Moreover, in an atmosphere of prosperity, much might be accomplished in reducing U. S. import barriers. It is not at all inconceivable that, within a few years after the termination of hostilities and with a more liberal trade policy, the United States might be importing goods worth $10 billion or more a year from other countries. Such imports would support larger U. S. exports, particularly of capital goods and the durable consumers' goods in which U. S. production is most efficient.

Other Countries Affected

FAILURE of American reconversion will mean the end of any serious possibility of helping the economic expansion of other countries by increasing our buying of their products. American consumers and business enterprises will sharply curtail purchases of raw materials and finished products from

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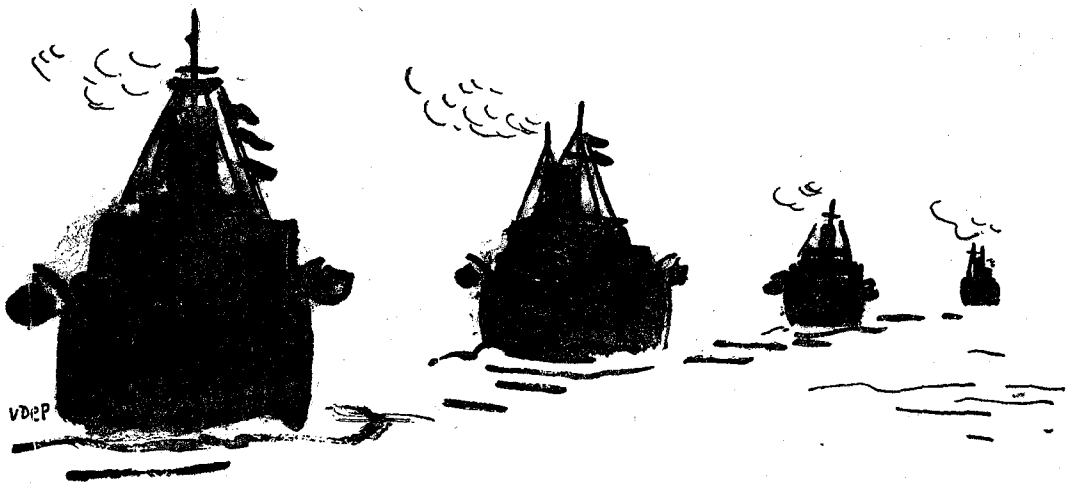

abroad if widespread unemployment and restricted markets prevail. In an atmosphere of contracting domestic markets, American workers and businessmen will want to shut out the foreign supplier—even at the expense of, in turn, being shut out of foreign markets. The meager degree of liberalization of our trade policy achieved during the 1930's was due to the general atmosphere of unemployment in which a constructive trade policy was rejected by the general public, as a dangerous adventure. If reconversion fails, the same public sentiment will surely prevail after the war.

A contribution will be made by the United States to the short-term relief needs of devastated areas irrespective of the success of reconversion. As is well known, provisions for relief in the period immediately following liberation and occupation are treated in the United States as military requirements. Such delays as have been experienced in the procurement and production of relief requirements for the second (or UNRRA) period will quickly disappear with the decrease in military requirements. The satisfaction of relief requirements, therefore, does not depend on the success of reconversion. In fact, the relief demands will help maintain total demands in the United States and will aid in the disposition of accumulated surpluses.

Beyond immediate relief, however, there are the much larger claims of rehabilitation and development. In some measure, the Government of the United States has already taken a constructive initiative in these matters by its sponsorship of an International Monetary Fund and an International Bank. These institutions have not, however, yet won decisive public support in the United States. They have an important place in the framework of an expanding, internationally-minded, economy. They are not likely to be established in a general atmosphere of frustration and unemployment.

Even the United States participation in the International Fund and Bank are not the full measure of the role that an expanding, successfully reconverted American economy might play in international economic relations. There is the possibility of a great constructive field for U. S. foreign investment. International investment has, in the past, played an important part in allowing areas of relative capital surplus to speed the economic development of areas where capital was scarce.

In the earlier days of our development, the United States benefited greatly from this international flow of capital. We are now in a position to be great capital exporters rather than capital importers. We have the materials, the facilities, and the manpower to meet such demands. We can help in the attainment of peace and world welfare through such capital exports while at the same time stimulating prosperity here at home through the absorption of savings which may not find adequate domestic investment outlets.

Bank Fund Small

THE magnitude of international capital needs dwarfs the $10 billion in terms of which the International Bank is now con-

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ceived. We need to think in terms of the large capital resources required for the reconstruction of Europe, the industrialization of the Far East, the development of Latin America, the upbuilding of Africa and the reclaiming of the Middle East. An expanding United States economy might well devote several billion dollars of productive investments each year to world industrialization. Such a program will link the nations of the world more constructively than will a program for the mere repression of defeated aggressors. It is not likely to be undertaken in an atmosphere of mass unemployment and deflation which would follow an unsuccessful period of reconversion.

The prestige of democracy in the world is, in a great measure, bound up with the success of United States reconversion. In the 1930's, the two nations that achieved the greatest economic progress—Russia and Germany—were both directed by non-democratic political systems. These two countries also had the world prestige of having created the two greatest military organizations. Their economic and military successes are not unrelated, particularly in Germany where the achievement of total use of resources, under conditions of assured government demand, for authoritatively established ends, was largely related to preparation for war. Though Russia's militarization period was not preceded by one of large unemployment, its economic progress was sharply accelerated under the impetus of military demands.

Once our economy came to operate under the same conditions, we achieved full employment. But does that mean that our economy cannot operate well except in a framework of authoritative demand, and not in the satisfaction of a multitude of shifting demands from individual consumers and investors? Does it mean that authoritative demand requires a more authoritarian type of government? Whatever the logical fallacies of the authoritarian answers to these questions, their prestige will be greatly enhanced if we in the United States fail to achieve reconversion without a depression. Common men will not support democracy if they identify it with absence of jobs.

Under modern conditions, unemployment means so much in frustration, a continuing, haunting sense of insecurity, and a lack of independence and public esteem, that men will forego a great many other benefits to have a society that guarantees continuous work.

It will be a sad day when the political freedom of democracy comes to be identified, in the minds of common men, with freedom to sell apples, beg for bread, and sleep under bridges. Yet it now appears that the conservative elements in Congress and elsewhere will permit these things in the United States again.

Those same conservative, do-nothing elements offer the most serious threat to political democracy in the United States and in the world. In their near-sightedness and bland complacency they fail to understand that mass unemployment is a much more serious threat to democracy than the modest reforms needed to maintain full employment in the United States. They flay authoritarian regimes abroad and ignore the poor example of democracy which a depressed America represents. If world peace and economic well-being and political democracy fail, much of the responsibility will be ours.

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Announcing

BEVERIDGE'S NEW PLAN *for* *Full Employment*

HONOR BALFOUR IS ONE OF THE GROUP OF SPECIALISTS WHO COLLABORATED WITH SIR WILLIAM BEVERIDGE ON THIS NEW PLAN, HERE PRESENTED FOR THE FIRST TIME. IT MEANS, SHE SAYS, THAT THE PEOPLE CHARGE THEIR GOVERNMENT WITH RESPONSIBILITY FOR SEEING THAT TOTAL EXPENDITURES ARE SUFFICIENT TO PROVIDE TOTAL PEACE EMPLOYMENT.

By
HONOR BALFOUR

A CROWD of mill hands was trudging up the steep hilly street of a Lancashire cotton town. The frosty fog of December drifted down from the moors, reddening the eyelids and biting into the chest. Above the clatter of clogs on the sets, one of the men was talking. "Eeh," he said, in his broad Lancashire dialect, "Wot we want's the Beveridge Report. An' it wouldn't do us no 'arm ter let 'im 'ave a go at summat else—unemployment, or summat. 'E's a good lad, yer know. . . ."

The Lancashire mill hand spoke with the voice of the people of Britain. Lancashire, especially this particular cotton town, had long a sore experience of poverty and unemployment. When Sir William Beveridge's report on Social Security was published in December 1943, it sounded a bell that resounded throughout the country. Here, at last, was something concrete to work for and to fight for—that was the reaction of the people. And the Government's stock went up. For the report had been prepared at the Government's request by an Interdepartmental Committee of Civil Servants under the chairmanship of Sir William Beveridge. But seven months after the Committee had been appointed, the Government decided that, owing to the fact that matters of high policy were likely to arise in the final recommendations, the Civil Servants should be regarded merely as advisers, and that Beveridge alone should be responsible. From that decision in itself, those "in the know" estimated in advance that there might be difference if not friction between Beveridge and the Government on the final Plan. They were right. When the report came up for debate in the House of Commons in February 1943, it was carped at and snapped at by Tories and Government men until, borne in the hands of Government Socialist Minister Herbert Morrison and Government Tory Minister John Anderson, it was laid to rest in the inevitable pigeon-hole. Immediately, the Government's stock slumped, and continued to slump, on home affairs, right through the following year and up until the present time. By-elections, in which Reconstruction policy at home figured large—particularly social security—shook the Government; Government majorities flopped down and seats were lost.

The Beveridge Report was not the only report that had been shelved; there were the Scott, Uthwatt and Barlow Reports, too, dealing with the basic essentials of Reconstruction—land and the location of industry. The shelving of Reports recommending progress for the people seemed to be becoming a Government habit; the result was that popular confidence in the Government on domestic issues waned. And as this confidence waned, a new star began to

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rise on the people's horizon. Beveridge, the author of the proposals that brought social security within the reach of all, developed a loftiness and a brightness in the public imagination that has rarely been acquired by any man. The name "Beveridge" became the password to Progress in the popular mind. Requests for him to speak poured into his office from all parts. He was inundated with queries on his Plan. A Social Security League was formed to promote his proposal and to rebut the anti-Beveridge propaganda that was being poured out of the Kingsway Editorial Office in London by an agency financed by the big insurance companies whose interests Beveridge had attacked in his scheme.

Factory discussion groups began talking about his Plan in breaks between shifts. The Army Bureau of Current Affairs prepared a summary of it for circulation among the troops for discussion, but Tory Minister of War Grigg banned the publication; Liberal, Labour, and Common Wealth Members of Parliament resented Grigg's action and fought it in the House of Commons. Whether he liked it or not, Beveridge was a political figure—and was at war with the Government.

Three Basic Points

IN the Social Security Report, Beveridge had based his Plan on three "assumptions," as he called them—(1) a system of children's allowances; (2) a comprehensive health service and rehabilitation scheme; (3) the maintenance of employment. Assumptions (1) and (2) were dealt with to some extent in the Social Security Report. Beveridge's hope was that he might prepare a further report on Employment in the same way as he had done on Social Security—that is to say, with Government support and facilities.

But this was not to be. After his services in 1942, Beveridge returned to his academic duties as Master of University College, Oxford, where he was left unmolested by any further Government requests. Far from being asked to prepare a Plan to maintain Employment after the war, he was not even consulted by the Government-appointed committees that were considering his Social Security proposals. In his small study at University College, he was left to his own devices. His hope was not to materialize; but his intention to study the problem of unemployment with a view to putting forward a plan to prevent it, grew. And by the summer of 1943, he was already formulating a policy that was to be complementary to his Social Security Plan.

Today, he has finished his task, and by the end of September, Beveridge's "Full Employment in a Free Society" will be published. "The new report is made under difficult circumstances," he says. "Regarding it as a sequel to the earlier report, I should naturally have been ready to deal with it on the same lines, if that had been the wish of the Government. Such a survey could have covered demobilization as well as permanent structure in one continuous program. Since this possibility was not open to me, the present report is made by myself as a private citizen, and with only such resources as could be made available to private citizens in wartime."

Government Aid Lacking

TRUE, it cannot be based on such detailed information in these circumstances. Under order of Ernest Bevin, Minister of Labor, for instance, some statistics were not available to Sir William, while Civil Servants were prevented from giving him evidence. Owing to these and other limitations, demobilization is not dealt with at all, and, contrary to Sir William's original intention, the new report does not sketch any proposals to cope with the transition period from war to peace. It is solely a plan for the permanent structure of peacetime industry and economies, which must, Sir William suggests, follow the transition period if mass unemployment is to be prevented. "Even for that narrower purpose," Sir William says, "I should have welcomed any help the Government had felt able to give me by way both of expert criticism of my proposals and of information on questions of fact rather than Government policy." But not one shadow of help was forthcoming.

The Report is not entirely a one-man effort, however. Sir William has worked closely with a small Technical Committee of experts—economists who are outside the

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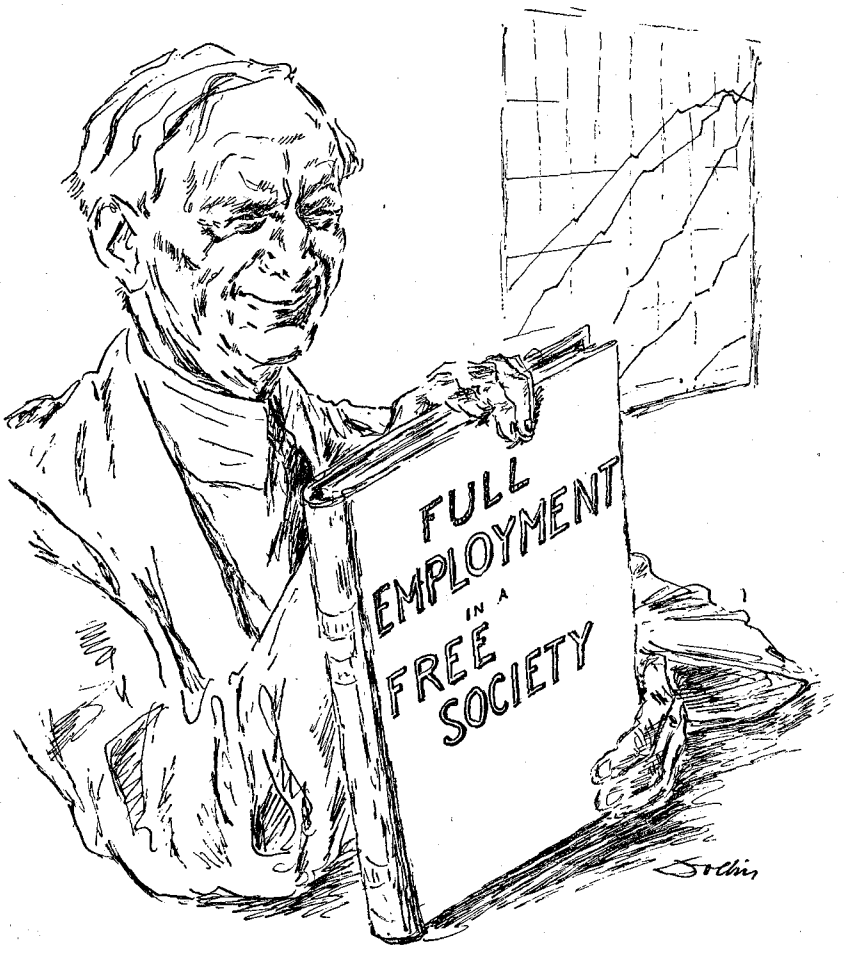

Government—also with various specialist organizations, particularly with a group of economists, labor experts and industrialists connected with Nuffield College, Oxford. "My Plan for Full Employment in a Free Society will not please the Tories," says Sir William. "On the other hand, it is not Socialist." Briefly, its main points for an immediate program are these:

Abolition *of want by social security and children's allowances, increasing and stabilizing consumption;*

Collective *outlay to secure good housing, good food, fuel and other necessaries at stable prices for all;*

Encouragement *and regulation of private investment by the National Investment Board, to rejuvenate and expand the mechanical equipment of the country while stabilizing the process of doing so;*

Extension *of the public sector of industry so as to increase the scope of direct stabilization of investment and to bring monopolies under public control;*

A National Budget *based on the datum of manpower and designed to ensure year by year total outlay sufficient to set up demand for the whole productive resources of the country;*

Control *of the location of industry with full powers, including transport, on a national plan;*

Organized mobility *of labor to prevent aimless movement, the hawking of labor and misdirected juveniles, while facilitating movement when it is desirable;*

Controlled marketing *of primary products, so as to stabilize overseas demand to the utmost;*

International trading *arrangements, based on the acceptance of the three fundamental conditions of multilateral trade: full employment, balancing of international accounts, and stability of economic policy.*

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The central proposition of this Plan, Sir William explains, "is that the responsibility of ensuring that outlay at all times is sufficient in total to employ all the available manpower in Britain should be formally placed by the people of Britain on the State. That, first and foremost, is what is meant by adopting a national policy of full employment."

Idle Resources

"IN the unplanned market economy of Britain between the two wars," Sir William adds, "a substantial proportion of the productive resources of the country stood idle or ran to waste. In terms of manpower, this waste is measured by the 14% average of unemployment throughout that period. If we could change the percentage of the normal labor force in employment from 86% to 97%, we should add about an eighth to our production every year, and could be richer by that amount in all material goods—in terms of money, on the basis of pre-war production, this would mean an extra £500 million a year national income."

The attack on unemployment, Sir William believes, must be an attack from three sides, aiming at the maintenance of adequate demand at all times, at the right direction of demand, and at the organization of the labor market. "The first of these is the main attack," he says. "If we cannot maintain adequate total demand for the products of industry, mass unemployment returns with certainty. Employment depends on outlay—i.e., planned spending. Full employment cannot be attained unless outlay in total is sufficient to set up a demand for the whole of the labor that is available for employment. Outlay may be private or public: during war, it is mostly public, under the State. During peace, it is mostly private, and will continue to be in a free society. But the ultimate responsibility for seeing that outlay *as a whole* is sufficient to set up a demand for all labor seeking employment must be taken by the State, because no other authority has the requisite powers."

Obviously a plan of this kind means a revolution in national finance. Instead of a money budget, there must be a manpower budget, with money coming as a secondary consideration. Actually, we have had a taste of this type of national economy in war.

Sir William's recommendations, therefore, are in essence a continuation and adaptation of wartime economy and financial and manpower planning into the peace. "It follows from this Plan," Beveridge continues, "that the Minister of National Finance—or whatever the Chancellor of the Exchequer might be called under such a system—has to take one cardinal decision every year: after estimating how much, assuming full employment and under the taxation he proposes, private citizens may be expected to lay out that year on consumption and private investment, he must propose a public outlay for the year that is sufficient, in conjunction with the estimated private outlay, to employ the whole manpower of the country."

What will be the reception of this Plan? Already, it is awaited with eager interest by all Parties. Labor will be disappointed that it does not advocate nationalization in their meaning of the word. Conservatives and orthodox financiers will be suspicious of it because: (a) it definitely recognizes that the State has a duty in relation to private enterprise, and demands that the duty be fulfilled; (b) it breaks with the traditional financial principle that State expenditure should be kept down to the minimum necessary to meet unavoidable demands; (c) it smashes the old theory that State income and expenditure should balance each year.

Liberals will probably welcome the scheme. Much of it is already embodied in their policy reports; its economic philosophy is already held and propagated by many leading progressives in the Party. Whether Beveridge will yet come out as a political figure is not certain. Politically, he leans more to the Liberals than to any other Party; but, while he has expressed his willingness and even desire to be in Parliament, he has not declared under what ticket he would fight. Whether or not he enters the House himself, however, his new Plan is likely to play an important part in General Election politics, and the two great Reports may well form a permanent and practical basis for future Liberal policy.

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World TVA's—
New Frontiers for Peace

By SENATOR
JAMES E. MURRAY

Four-purpose development of the rivers of the world—for flood control, irrigation, navigation and power—would not only improve living conditions but encourage peace through cooperation of the nations served.

AMERICA has pioneered in many gigantic undertakings. America has been eminently successful in many industrial, agricultural, commercial, and scientific endeavors which a short few decades ago would have been considered visionary and impossible of accomplishment.

This daring, this pioneering has benefited not only America. The whole world has gained from our experimentations and our successes.

It must be conceded, however, that at least in one great field of endeavor we have little achievement to record. I am referring to the harnessing of our rivers for the benefit of all the people living within the respective watersheds. Maybe we have been too busy building railways and highways, motor cars and skyscrapers, agricultural implements and construction machinery, and could not spare the energy, talents and effort to make the mighty streams work for, and not against, the people. The global wars of the present century have not helped matters, of course. We had to divert our energies and our technical skill from construction to the destruction of those who would rob us of our liberties and our cherished institutions.

But the war is speedily coming to a successful conclusion. The heroic men of the United Nations will shortly write *finis* to the nightmare of destruction. This time we are resolved to make sure that the peace bought at such terrific cost in blood and wealth is worth the price; this time we shall make the peace lasting by combining with other peace-loving nations to act in timely and swift fashion against future aggressor countries.

With the prospects for the peaceful coexistence of nations now brighter than ever before in man's history, we stand on the threshold of an era of expansive human progress. Will we be fully alive to the opportunity? I am optimistic enough to believe that the men who have had the courage to face and defeat the most cruel, most efficient military machines of all time—those of Germany and Japan—will not shrink before any peacetime plans of construction deemed necessary to promote the welfare of our people. And it is my humble opinion that the development of our river valleys is one of the most vital and promising tasks awaiting the pioneer brain and brawn of undaunted America. It will be a bold adventure, but one familiar to the American scene and spirit.

In his book "TVA—Democracy on the March," Mr. David E. Lillienthal, the guiding genius of the Tennessee Valley Authority, has summed up the task before us in the following terms:

"An American Development Program for the period from now until 1975 can be stated in terms of real things—of land, streams, electricity, forests, minerals; of factories and jobs."

This is what is in store for us once we make up our minds to harness the rivers for the good of all. But this is not all. The European and Asiatic nations which have suffered from the past and present

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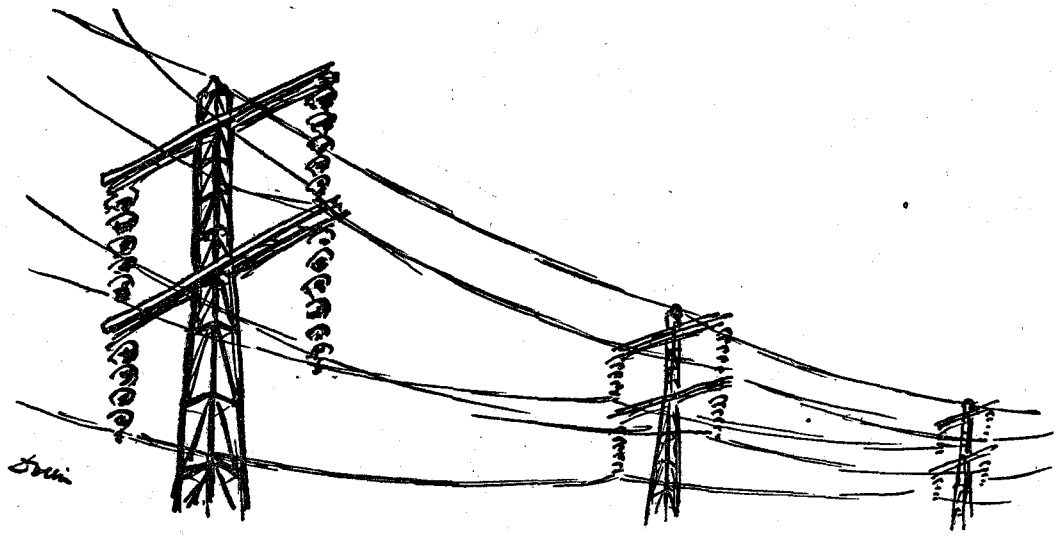

devastation caused by war, floods, droughts and similar visitations, will need our inspiring influence, our encouragement. Our successful example in solving the problems of our river valleys should offer them inspiration and guidance for solving their huge post-war problems.

Rivers—Blessing and Curse

FROM time immemorial large and small rivers have been a blessing during some seasons of the year and a curse during other seasons. Take the Missouri river, for example. Its valley is one of gigantic resources and potential productiveness. Its watershed embraces a territory of nearly 530,000 square miles—17½ per cent of the area of the continental United States. Its waters wash the territories of nine big States, with about 7,000,000 inhabitants.

But this great Missouri Valley is plagued, as are many other river valleys in this and other countries, by problems of erosion and drought. Frequent floods cover the productive land, damaging and disrupting commerce, destroying homes, farms, and factories, and harrassing the people. There are problems attending both the normal and occasional scarcity of water. Erosion is unchecked on the hillsides, and the swollen river and its tributaries carry countless thousands of tons of top soil to the sea.

Only a few in this wide land of ours would claim that the region is fully productive now, that we are obtaining the full benefits of our natural resources—our minerals, forests, and fertile farm lands—in the light of what modern science, engineering, and ingenuity make possible.

This past spring, for example, another multi-million-dollar flood on the lower Missouri spent its force unchecked. During the past two years the people of the Missouri Valley had suffered more than one hundred million dollars' damage in floods alone, to say nothing of interruption of the normal life and work; to say nothing of the drought sufferers in the upper reaches of the river or the interruption of navigation after the swollen streams had emptied themselves into the sea. Such visitations are almost annual occurrences. We have been suffering from perennial floods, idle and wasted water power, clogged river channels; we are the victims of the repeated paradox of too much or too little water in the wrong places and at the wrong time.

Most of the States in the upper reaches have been witnessing the lowering of their water table from six to thirty-five feet, according to an exhaustive official investigation.

The Tennessee Valley once suffered from similar afflictions. For years the people of that valley were the victims of the kind of muddled thinking about the sort of measures to undertake for their relief that now affects the people in the Missouri Valley. But with the coming of the Roosevelt Administration to Washington the days of doubt were ended, the advisers of piecemeal action were dispensed with for good. Congress created the Tennessee Valley Authority and charged it with the respon-

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sibility of developing the river in its essential unity—not for flood control alone, irrigation alone, power alone, or navigation alone, but for the maximum benefits of all four purposes.

The results are already apparent. The level of income between 1933 and 1940 tells only part of the tale. In the seven Tennessee Valley states, per capita income increased 73 per cent, as compared with a 56 per cent increase for the country as a whole. Bank deposits increased 76 per cent in the Tennessee Valley states, while the whole country showed an increase of 46 per cent. Retail sales increased 18 per cent as compared with a 71 per cent increase for the country as a whole.

Nations Study TVA

THE TVA has become the Mecca of all forward-looking countries. From all corners of the globe engineers have been coming to study the accomplishments of the TVA. Today one hears of plans to create a TVA on the Jordan, a TVA on the San Francisco river in Brazil, a TVA on the Danube. The list is almost endless, for the need is urgent, and an awakened humanity is determined to rise from the darkness and misery which has been the lot of the people living in those watersheds.

We in the United States were first to explore the opportunities offered by what the noted engineer, Morris L. Cooke, calls "multiple purpose river development." The success of the TVA has paved the way for a Missouri Valley Authority. On August 18, 1944, I introduced in the United States Senate a bill patterned after the TVA, but incorporating the valuable lessons learned since 1933 when the TVA was created.

The TVA and the MVA will constitute two great mileposts of human progress. They are bound to serve as beacon lights for the people in all watersheds here and in the rest of the world.

The present war has driven home the lesson which mankind should have mastered long, long ago—economic cooperation for the common good; military cooperation for the protection of all against the aggressor nations.

Similar cooperation after the war in the economic field will yield equally great benefits to us all.

The TVA is benefiting the people of the valley and the Nation as a whole because it is operating without regard to state lines. The Missouri River, like the Tennessee, knows no state lines. Neither should the plans designed for its development be hampered by state lines.

If we accept this principle not only for the Missouri but for all other river projects, we shall set the example for the peoples of the world to follow. If the life-giving and progress-advancing MVA project is undertaken, it will help people in other countries to think in human rather than in narrow nationalistic terms, by developing their rivers without regard to national boundaries. When that day comes, perpetual peace will be much nearer to realization.

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PRODIGAL ROMANIA

Returns To Her Old Allies

Will her soil prove fertile for the seeds of a new democracy? Mr. Davila hopes so. Through his historic speeches broadcast by OWI, he has helped influence King Michael to overthrow the dictatorship regime of Antonescu. He now suggests a government coalition centered around the Romanian National Peasant Party, with Socialist and Communist participation. He urges close collaboration with Russia, and repudiates the thesis of William Bullitt's recent article appearing in "Life."

By
Charles Davila

ROMANIAN democrats are proud that at last the pro-fascist clique responsible for crimes against which the democratic leaders of the Romanian people steadily protested and fought, is now behind bars.

The action of Romania in turning against her nazi oppressors was clearly understood by Secretary of State Cordell Hull, who pointed out that "it was when confronted with the overwhelming force of Allied arms that the Romanians abandoned their inglorious war at Hitler's side." He was right that only when a military possibility presented itself were the Romanians in a position to get rid of their own fascist dictator and his nazi masters, and to do what they did on August 23rd.

Still, it would be generous to concede that Romania, being in a more difficult geographic and strategic position than other Axis satellites had a certain merit for taking the lead and doing what she had been asked to do in broadcasts from America and Great Britain. Without the faith of the Romanian people and their democratic leaders in their Allies of the first World War, King Michael's action could not have succeeded. What happened is a categorical confirmation of the distinction made by President Roosevelt in 1942, in his address to Congress demanding that war be declared on Romania, between the country's fascist government and the Romanian people.

The strategic and military importance of Romania's action against the Germans and their Hungarian allies has been demonstrated by the immediate collapse of the German defense in the Carpathian Mountains, the swift advance of the Russian and Romanian forces toward the Yugoslav border, and the penetration of Bulgaria by Soviet troops.

But even more important is the renewed fraternity of arms between Russian and Romanian troops, and the valuable contribution of the latter, as emphasized by the Moscow communiqués, when one remembers that until recently in Romania, most politicians, the social upper class and even large sections of the people favored a "cordon sanitaire" policy, isolating Russia.

Romania's contribution has already been acknowledged in the armistice conditions, in which the war indemnity to be paid by Romania has been considerably cut down as a compensation for Romania's military help.

The fraternity of arms ought to lead to a new feeling of trust and friendship to

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which the broadcasts made from America and England by Romanian democrats in the last two years have also contributed, as they endeavored to make the Romanians understand, even when their army was at Stalingrad, that their future depended greatly on their confident relations with Soviet Russia. The determining factors have been, of course, Molotov's statement of April 2, 1944, that "the Soviet Government does not pursue the aim of acquiring Romanian territory or of altering the existing social structure of Romania," and the subsequent correct and humane attitude of the Soviet troops on Romanian territory.

* * *

THE coup was well carried out by young King Michael and his collaborators. One can concede to some press satirists that it was in the "Prisoner of Zenda" vein, though actually no more so than the Duce's adventure, when he was whisked away from the Quirinal in a guarded ambulance. Everything considered, the Italian act should have been more amusing to the American public, ending as it did in a second kidnapping by the Nazis.

Anyhow, we trust that Antonescu will not, like Mussolini from his prison, vanish from his stamp collection vault. That would be one stunt too many. The past antics of the Romanian royal family of German blood, which have brought first bad repute, and then catastrophe to the Romanian people, ought to have reached their climax. It is to be hoped that the future bahavior of the Chief of State and of the Governments in Romania will give Americans a more accurate idea of the Romanian people and obliterate the present "Court of Ruritania" picture. That is about the only notion the American public has of the country of the late Queen Marie and ex-King Carol.

The action of young King Michael has certainly strengthened his position. One can expect that, considering his age, he will not be held responsible for Antonescu's crimes, nor for his own various appreciative gestures such as the decorating of Marshal von Paulus and others. After all, his youth explains his lack of judgment, and emphasizes one of the drawbacks of the monarchic system. He was told this very fact over the radio, when we appealed to him "to show courage and to behave like a Romanian, if he has the soul of a Romanian." As for whether he retains his throne, that will depend much on the behavior of his father. If ex-King Carol continues pulling wires, the prospects of the Hohenzollern dynasty in Romania are certainly not bright. Much will depend, also, on the practical possibility of friendly and confident relations between the King and his government—and the Soviet leaders. (Ex-King Carol had for a long time before the war, in true royal manner, refused to receive the Soviet Minister, whom he presumably considered too red for royal society.)

There is no doubt that Russia's policy of non-interference, as stated by Molotov, is sincere. What has still to be seen is whether royal courts, as a rule focal points of anti-communist prejudice, can adopt a friendly and matter-of-fact attitude toward Soviet Russia, especially in countries bordering on Soviet territory.

The inclusion of L. Patrascanu, the communist leader, in the present cabinet augurs well. The King seems to have been in close touch with him for some time. But will it be possible for the King to resist later reactionary influences, and will he support the far-reaching constitutional, social, political and economic changes without which Romania cannot become a real democracy, and can hardly remain on friendly terms with Soviet Russia? If he does, he will be quite unique among Central, South-European and Balkan kings. We must consequently reserve our judgment until the miracle materializes.

* * *

THE new government, as is fitting for a Palace-coup, is crowded with generals. Its composition is also justified by the fact that its immediate task is to wage war against nazi Germany and feudal Hungary. The presence in it of both Juliu Maniu, Head of the National-Peasant Party, and Constantine Bratianu, Head of the Liberal Party which actually controls the main banks and industries of the country, provides the political background and is intended as an expression of national unity.

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In the present circumstances, and for the liquidation of a disastrous adventure, this government may be the best possible team for the job to be done. Yet the inclusion of certain personages such as General Potopeanu, who is supposed to be on the Soviet war-criminal list, and of General Victor Dombrowski, former high-handed mayor of Bucharest under Carol's dictatorship, is rather bewildering. More gratifying is the presence of a young diplomat at the head of the Foreign Office, Niculescu-Buzesti, who has adroitly worked for the liberation of the country, and of the Head of the Socialist Party, Constantine Petrescu.

The provisional government will have to quit, of course, after Germany's capitulation. Generals should have no place in a democratic government in Romania, not even at the War Department. Democratic generals may be found in the Western armies; but in Southern, Central and Balkan Europe they have not yet made their appearance.

* * *

THE next Romanian Government will have to be formed exclusively by political leaders. If Bratianu's "liberal" party accepts far-reaching reforms and is willing to give up exploitation by private banking and industry, a national government, with Juliu Maniu at its head, may be formed. But such a prospect seems most unlikely. The probable solution will be a coalition government of the national-peasant party and the two small socialist and communist parties, which must, of course, have gained in importance in the last year. A few independent liberals may be included.

The new government will have to try war and anti-Semitic criminals, to make sure that former supporters of fascist regimes shall be eliminated from public life, that Jewish property shall be restored and the Jews indemnified. It will have to preside over free elections of all citizens without distinction, for a constitutional assembly that will decide also the fate of the monarchy, as the head of the Romanian delegation in Moscow who signed the armistice has pointed out.

The man to head such a government is Juliu Maniu. He is by far the greatest political personality in the country. A man of character and of strong democratic convictions, he has been ex-King Carol's unyielding opponent. Of course every agreement between Russia and Romania may be interpreted by some gentleman sitting on Rome's Pincian Hills or by his like everywhere, as Soviet imperialism or interference. Yet in such circumstances Maniu, a Catholic, is the only Romanian who could make such an interpretation look as absurd as it is. In the interest of Romanian democracy and of Russia's good neighbor policy, every effort should be made to utilize the prestige Maniu enjoys in Romania and in the whole of Europe, for the effective democratization of the country and for the establishment of a policy of collaboration and mutual assistance be-between Russia and Romania.

That policy would constitute an important factor in the collective security system and would help create and maintain an atmosphere of understanding and trust between the Western world and Soviet Russia, which alone can assure a prolonged peace.

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GERMAN CARTEL-KINGS

Tomorrow's Turn-Coats

BY
ALBERT NORDEN

While Allied soldiers fight and die on European battlegrounds to crush tyranny, Europe's commercial rats, Quislings and plutocrats run for cover. Their favorite rendezvous is the Bank for International Settlement; their favorite sport is the game of cartels, livened by new aggressions and new plots to seize power by wars.

THE nearer the approach of final defeat for Germany the more strenuous will be the efforts of the German cartel kings to establish some sort of business status quo. The danger is all the greater since the German cartel kings are identical with those individuals brought to power by Hitler to prepare for his world conquest. Should the means of economic power be left in their hands, we are bound to see as we did twenty-five years ago, every effort made to confound the postwar plans for political collaboration between the United Nations.

The Bank for International Settlement in Basle is now well-known as a rendezvous for those elements that again would make of Europe a playground for international cartels and who will try to hold in power the German economic and political reactionaries after Hitler's removal. While the blood of Allied soldiers is being spilled on the battlefields against German fascism there exists with all legal sanction this clearing house for representatives of Anglo-Saxon capital-finance groups, the Hitler plutocrats and his economic Quislings. They have been in contact with one another since the beginning of the War in order to take up again, when hostilities cease the pernicious activities which made possible the seizure of power, its expansion and the aggression of nazi fascism.

Who are these German BIS bankers who by handing over six million pounds sterling to Hitler made themselves accomplices in the aggression against Czechoslovakia? In particular: Walter Funk, Dr. Hermann Schmitz and Kurt Freiherr von Schroeder. It will be worth while to cast a little light on the political and economic role of these and the rest of the advance guard of German finance capital, because important and interesting lessons can be learned for the future. It was no accident that I. G. Farben put one of its three German members on the board of BIS. This chemical trust holds in common innumerable patents and agreements on dividing world markets with foreign firms, including some in the United States.

In Spain the I. G. Farben had financed the leaders of the Nazi party, shared in the preparation of the Franco putsch. It established the fascist Ionescu in Romania as director of the newspaper *Curentul,* the chief organ of the Iron Guard. Even before Hitler overran the Balkans, I. G. Farben, with the aid of other German concerns had made Southeast Europe ripe for conquest through economic enslavement. Today the Farben trust, thanks to Hitler's aggression, rules the entire chemical and dye industry of the European Continent.

The traitorous grasp of the I. G. Farben octopus reached to the Americas. From Southern Argentina to Mexico the directors of the I. G. Farben branches were the chiefs of the Nazi party local groups and espionage agents for the Gestapo or military, or both. With what psychological ingenuity the leaders of the great European trusts

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proceed is shown by an example in Mexico, where the German scientist Alexander von Humboldt is still remembered and honored as one of the ideological founders of their independence movement. As chief of their Bayer Branch, I. G. Farben sent to Mexico Alexander von Humboldt, great nephew of the scientist. There he directed the spy activities of the nazi colony.

Walter Funk, before he took over Schacht's position as Minister of Economy, was a second-rate and thereby more easily bought editor of the *Berliner Boersenzeitung*, the official sheet of the German Foreign Office, whose owner, General von Stuelpnagel is at the same time board member of numerous well-known business houses. Incidentally, his brother, commander of Paris in this war, has won questionable fame as murderer of numerous French hostages.

As Stuelpnagel's business editor, Funk acquired the confidence of the West German heavy industry leaders, who in 1930 presented him to Hitler, thereby acquiring for themselves an amenable tool in the high position of Minister of Economy.

While Schmitz and Funk are sufficiently well-known the rôle of Baron von Schroeder deserves especial notice. Here we find ourselves in the midst of an unknown chapter of international finance-capital intrigue.

Kurt Freiherr von Schroeder is the copartner of the banking firm I. H. Stein in Cologne. The Deutsche Bank and the Dresdner Bank may be better known and more important—I. H. Stein never sought the limelight. The machinations of this banking house of the cannon kings in Western Germany have special import in connection with debates over the eventual partition of Germany.

S. S. Banker Makes History

A QUARTER of a century ago, in the beginning of the year 1919, Germany was an arena of bloody civil conflict in which decision was being made whether or not the nation would free herself from the unholy trinity of the Junker, heavy industrial chiefs and militarists. The first days of January 1919 saw a high point reached in this struggle. In Berlin the workers at times took over control of the city; in the Rhineland-Westphalia, a workers army was being formed which took Fritz Thyssen and other munition magnates into custody. At this time, the seventh of January to be exact, at the home of banker Stein in Cologne a conference took place in which the leading industrial and banking heads of West Germany took part.

The minutes of the meeting indicated that the following decision was reached:

> We are fully agreed that the Rhineland Westphalian Republic must come into being; that, however, in order to bring this about, a military power is required and that this can be established only with the understanding of the Entente.

This meant: in view of the grave "danger" that the German Reich might transform itself into a progressive-democratic state, the munition barons decided to set up an Entente-sponsored independent Rhineland-Westphalian state including the entire coal and steel industry so vital to the German economy. Two months later, as the street fights between left and right increased and extended through the realm, a public meeting under the chairmanship of the banker Stein was held in the Cologne Casino. The plan to form a Rhineland Republic was announced anew. During this and the following weeks the destiny of the Republic was set; the Freikorps and army officers, today called Hitler's generals, with the blessing of von Ebert's régime, were victors over the workers.

With the danger of socialization removed, the gentlemen from the Rhine and the Ruhr lost for the moment their interest in secession from the German state, although in 1922-23 it was revived again with vigor when the frightful inflation crisis produced a new revolutionary tide.

It is October 1923. Sabotage of the German reparation deliveries by the West-German captains of industry, led to the Allied occupation of the Rhineland. These were the same industrialists who had knifed the mark by buying up enormous quantities of foreign goods and who watched it sink day by day. A hundred thousand marks were paid for a loaf of bread, and this would be doubled on the day following. The revolutionary movement grew

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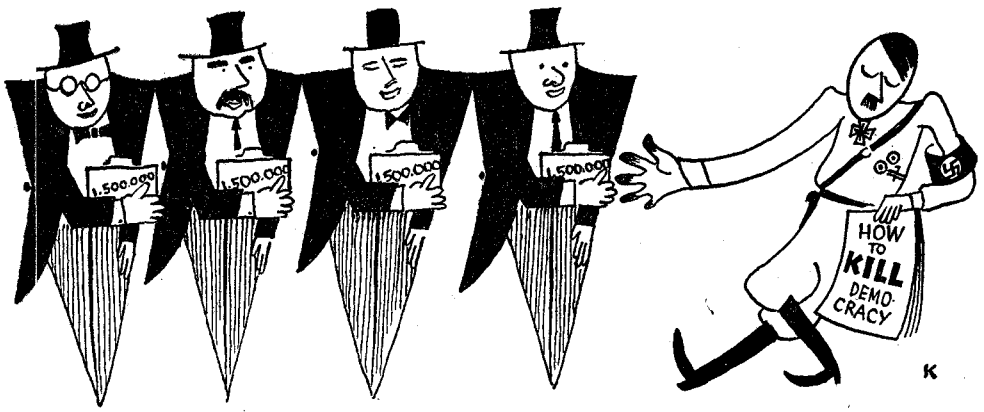

rapidly. In the heart of the Reich, in Saxony and Thuringia governments were formed by leaders of the Social-Democrat and Communist parties. At this moment in the hall of the Cologne Trade and Industry Council Baron Kurt von Schroeder, partner of the Banking House of Stein, proclaimed the necessity of a financial separation of the Rhineland from the German state and the founding of a Rhineland goldnote-bank in conjunction with the leaders of English and French finance. He stated to the assembled west-German business chiefs that negotiations with foreign interests for the realization of these objectives were already under way.

From the point of view of the nation this might have seemed high treason but for these people the Fatherland and their bank accounts were identical. They would rather collaborate with the "enemy" and surrender to him than to give any rights to the workers, and therewith a pattern of action was created which their French colleagues two decades later diligently pursued.

Several days after Schroeder's announcement, the army marched upon middle Germany, overthrew the Saxony-Thuringia régimes and put down the revolt of the Hamburg workers. The Reichsmark was stabilized with foreign help—and Schroeder stored away his plans for secession of the Rhineland. In the meantime the British Government fearing lest France would become too powerful a neighbor, sharply opposed setting up an independent Rhineland Republic on the grounds that its geographic and political position automatically made it dependent upon France.

And who in Germany would be better informed on the intentions of the "City" (London) and thereby Downing Street than Kurt von Schroeder, a close relative and business associate of the noted London banker J. Henry Schroeder. This London Schroeder was the agent for the German steel trust in England and America and up until the outbreak of the second World War carried on a profitable business for the Hitler régime.

Fourteen years to a day after the first conference in the Banking House of Stein, relative to the separation of the Rhineland from Germany, on January 7, 1933 Kurt von Schroeder at his villa brought about the reconciliation between ex-Reichs Chancellor von Papen and Hitler, who wished to become Reichs Chancellor. With this secret meeting began the intrigues which three weeks later were to end with the appointment of Adolf Hitler as Chancellor and Franz von Papen as Vice-Chancellor. In recognition of services rendered, Hitler promoted von Schroeder to President of the Rhineland Trade and Industrial Council. He became Vice-President of the board of the Reichsbahn which controlled all the German railroads, and President of the Deutschen Verkehrs-Kreditbank. He sat with his partner Stein on the boards of the steel trust, the Kloeckner and Flick Corporations, which belong to the half dozen leading trusts of German heavy industry.

Today Schroeder, through his position as German representative on the BIS, functions as negotiator and deputy between his principles and the Anglo-Saxon finance-capital. The Freiherr's influence reaches not only by way of T. Henry Schroeder to the city of London but he also has close

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connections with certain circles in American high finance. As director he sits on the board of the great Berlin factories Mix and Genest, C. Lorenz A.G. and Standard Elektrizitaets A.G.

Incidentally, in passing, the Lorenz A.G. shares to the tune of one and a half million marks in the Focke Wulf airplane works in Bremen. These were the planes which in the early part of the Allied air offensive gave such trouble to American fliers.

Who doubts that after the occupation of Germany Schroeder will try to carry on where he left off in 1923, that he will conduct himself as a friend of France, in order to maintain his present position and indeed win new standing? It must not be forgotten moreover that Baron von Schroeder has been elevated to the rank of General of the SS. and not he alone: actually a whole series of so-called business leaders have received high ranks in the SS. To consider these as a rowdy militia is absolutely misleading. Since the massacre that centered about Roehm ten years ago under pretext of revolution, the S.S. has more and more taken on the character of an elite organization. Their uniform underwent an indicative change after this thirtieth of June 1934 and now has a striking similarity with that of the earlier Deaths-head Hussars, the exclusive cavalry troop of the Kaiser's time.

Varieties of sport heretofore the privilege of the propertied classes only, such as flying, fencing, auto and horse racing are openly fostered in the S.S. In recent years, especially since the outbreak of the war, the proper thing has been for sons of Junkers, big business men and bankers, to go into the S.S. as a career. This has helped them improve their economic status.

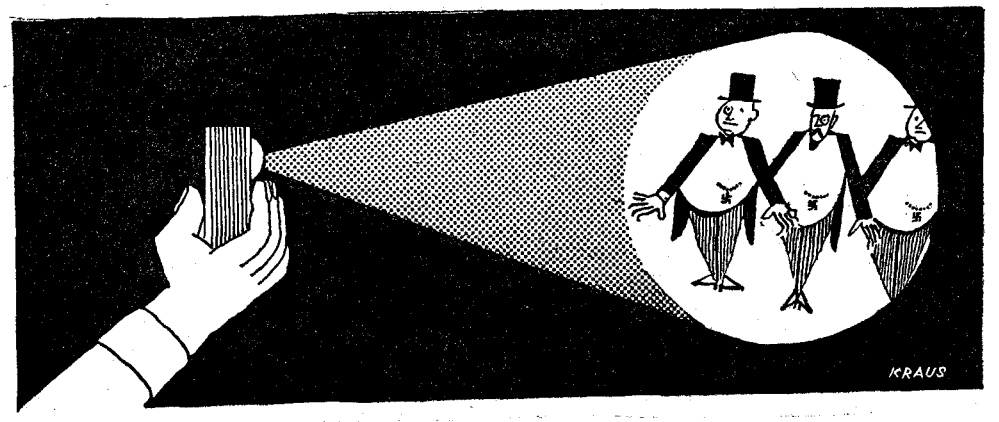
They also then will bear full responsibility for the bloody mass-murders which are being attempted by the S.S. leadership, now that the defeat of Germany is assured, to weaken or destroy the peoples of other European countries and thus prepare an advantageous European population balance for German imperialism in the third World War. Among those who will share in this responsibility is Herr von Schroeder.

Industry's "Secretary of State"

ENOUGH on the German representatives in the Bank for International Settlement. There are others whom the "Munich" circles in England and America will regard as guarantors for a reactionary development in Germany and as partners in the resuscitated international cartels.

On the first of May 1944 the highest civilian honor of the nazi regime, the title of "Pioneer of Work," was bestowed upon Dr. Hermann Roechling. Taking this occasion over the German radio, he made a first attempt at preparing for a union of the defeated German imperialists and the chiefs of Anglo-Saxon-French heavy industry. He said as follows:

> Work in the iron and steel industries throughout Europe is of great interest. Working together with peoples of many lands, with individuals from different countries, creates ever new problems each of special concern. When I have business in France, in Belgium, in the Eastern countries, it is always the *cooperation with the industrialists in various fields I find most important. It is highly important that we keep in contact everywhere.*



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This attempt at establishing contact is the more significant when we know the story of the man who now suddenly appears as a dove of peace to European business interests. Hermann Roechling is the owner of the Edelstahlwerke at Voelklingen in the Saar Valley, one of the richest coal deposits in Germany. Coal is no problem to Roechling, it is the iron ore he lacks, an essential to steel production. Iron ore, however, is plentiful in Eastern France the borders of which are but a few miles from Voelklingen. Here we have the crux of a struggle raging intermittently for half a century which has contributed in no small part to two world wars: whether German coal shall or shall not also control French ore. Actually Roechling and other West German industrialists such as Thyssen Sr., Kirdorf and Stinnes even before the last war acquired considerable interest in the ore and coal deposits of Lorraine and Northern France. Shortly after the outbreak of the war (September 3, 1914) Roechling laid a memorandum before the German High Command demanding the annexation of the famous ore valley of Briey in Eastern France. Thereafter Hindenburg and Ludendorff made Roechling the supervisor of industrial production in entire Eastern France. As doubt of German victory began to darken the horizon Hermann Roechling, since become captain with the aid of his brother, Major Robert Roechling, dismantled the French factories of their machinery to furnish his own plants in Germany. While fleeing from France Robert Roechling had the misfortune to be arrested for these thefts of French property and to be sentenced to several years in jail.

Hermann Roechling found an original way of finally getting his brother set free: he, the uncrowned king of the entire Saar industry, offered certain economic opportunities in the Saar Valley to the "Comité des Forges" as ransom. The French big business interests took up the offer enthusiastically. Robert Roechling was released and a new chapter in international dealings began for Hermann.

In those first postwar years, as German imperialism still cringed under the blows of defeat, as the gentlemen of Schroeder and Company sought rescue by the Entente from the German democratic revolution, the German nationalist Roechling made his way to Paris. There he founded the "Société Anonyme Française des Forges et Aciéries de la Sarre" whose letterhead proudly announced: "Fournisseur de la Marine Française." Actually the Roechling firm received important contracts for the French Navy as a result of negotiations with the Bureau Chief of the Ministry of the Navy. This gentleman's name was Jean François Darlan, great grandson of Captain Darlan who lost his ship and his life in the Battle of Trafalgar against Nelson and whose picture hung in the place of honor in Darlan's office, he who would have had the French fleet fight against England on Hitler's side in 1940-41.

The firm of Lorsar, a joint enterprise of Roechling and French industrialists, was entrusted by the French War Ministry with extensive deliveries of material for building the Maginot line. The author saw with his own eyes during the winter of 1934-35 the shipment of armor plate to France from the Roechling plant in Voelklinger. At this time another brother, Ernst Roechling, was named President of the "Deutsche Hilfsverein" which had its central offices in the Rue Huysmans directly opposite the German General Consulate in Paris. Under this apparently harmless guise were hidden the agents for financing nazi spies in France. Neither these facts nor the record of Hermann Roechling in the first World War hindered the French industrialists who to a man have lined up behind Petain and collaboration, from intimacy with Hermann Roechling both in business and socially. Was it consideration for the partner of the chief French industrialist and business friend of Darlan's that caused the French Army when it moved into the Saar Valley

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in September 1939 to fail to fire a shot at the Edelstahlwerke in Voelklingner?

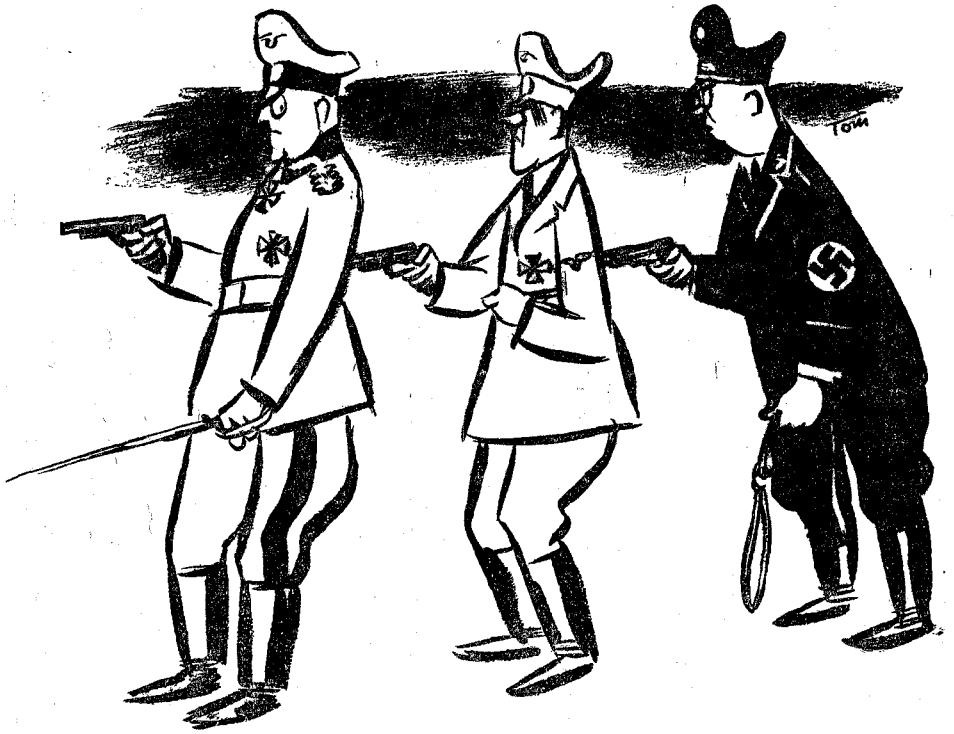
At the end of 1940 . . . the beginning of which had seen French soldiers still in the Saar, and Petain capitulate by mid year . . . Roechling became president of the Trade and Industry Council in Metz, the largest town of Lorraine, and was appointed by Hitler "Fuehrer" of the iron and steel industry of Lorraine, Meuse and Moselle. Under his direction the West-German trusts including the Goering combine took over the iron and steel works and the ore deposits of Eastern France. Roechling himself took the Karlshuettenwerke. These lie in the same little town of Thionville where a quarter of a century before his brother was jailed for robbery of French properties.

During these years of the highest and shortest-lived triumph of German imperialism Roechling arrived at the apex of the German steel industry and moved into that armaments council made up of thirteen generals, admirals and heavy industrialists, all powerful in allocation of contracts for the military. Through his son-in-law Hans Lothar Freiherr von Gemmingen-Hornberg, airforce captain in the first World War, and since then close friend of Goering, Roechling came to know Goering too. This may explain why the other relative of Roechling and member of the board of his firm, Achim von Mosch was raised to general director of the Goering-annexed Czechoslovakian "Waffenwerke Bruenn" and also made national director of the iron and metal industry in the entire "protectorate" of Bohemia-Moravia. Also, why Roechling himself could acquire new foundries in the neighborhood of the Czechoslovakian town of Maehrisch-Ostrau. The war profits of the Roechling corporation have been called exorbitant by even the Berlin paper *Deutsche Volkswirt,* a pretty commentary on the Nazi definition of the nature of war as "a fight of German socialism against the plutocrats."

Today the inciter and exploiter of the first and second World Wars, Hermann Roechling, seeks to offer himself to the conquerors of tomorrow, as a sort of "Foreign Minister" and trustworthy business partner of German heavy industry.

* * *

Read in next month's FREE WORLD Mr. Norden's story of the intrigues of munition's king Krupp, together with suggestions on action regarding Germany that the victorious Allied Powers need to take after this war.



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Greece on The Road to Unity

By

BASIL VLAVIANOS

The land that was the birthplace of democracy was not content to live under nazi tyranny. At every crossroad, its patriots fought for freedom. But the brave civilians who waved the British tommies goodby have not always understood the British Government's ambiguous attitude toward the valiant Greek Underground.

GREECE, whose liberation by victorious Allied armies may be completed by the time this appears in print, actually succeeded in kicking off much of the hateful Nazi tyranny as long as a year ago, through the activities of her Underground. Since the middle of 1943 the enemy has controlled only the large urban centers and the highways leading to the border. Most of the small towns, the villages and the hamlets have been free and self-governed.

Naturally, the enemy constantly threatens the free sections of the country, raiding them from time to time and indulging in brutal destruction and terrorism. But the enemy is soon forced to retreat into safer areas by the ever vigilant guerrillas.

The Greek resistance began immediately after the occupation of the country. After their triumphant fight against the Italians and their struggle against the Germans, the Greek people could not accept the occupation of their country as a permanent condition. During the evacuation of the British troops, the people of Athens threw flowers at them. "We'll see you soon," they shouted.

Inspired by this optimism and with the same spirit which motivated their defiance of the then most powerful military machine of all ages, they aligned themselves against the Italo - German - Bulgarian occupation. Every act of resistance brought terrible consequences. Hostages were taken and killed. Men, women, and children who were suspected of being connected with the underground were tortured.

At first, patriots lacked any organization. They worked as individuals, inflicting as much damage as they could upon the enemy and upon enemy installations. They cut telephone wires, slashed automobile tires, burned stores of ammunition. Little by little, small resistance groups were formed and began to work together, either in a particular district or in a particular field of resistance activity. It was then that the need was felt for a larger organization to coordinate the various resistance forces. Such an organization was promptly brought into being. It was named the National Liberation Front, commonly known as the EAM, and it set forth a two-fold aim: to resist the invaders for the quick liberation of the country, and to secure the political freedom of the people after the liberation.

People from every social class and from almost every political party participated in the organization: the wealthy and the poor, conservatives, liberals, radicals, people of the towns and of the countryside. They all set aside their personal interests, their particular political convictions, even their enmities to devote themselves to the attainment of those two aims.

In addition to the EAM, which has a well organized army called ELAS (Greek People's Army of Liberation) and a youth section called EPON (National Pan-Hellenic Organization of Youth), two other independent guerrilla organizations have been active: the Greek National Democratic Army (EDES) and the National and Social

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Liberation Group (EKKA). The EAM is by far the greatest and most powerful of all the Greek resistance organizations with its forces active throughout the country. EDES and EKKA are rather small groups operating only locally in Central and Northern Greece.

Underground Serves Allies

IN more ways than I can describe within the limitations of this article, the Greek Underground has contributed to the Allied war effort.

It is known that many British soldiers and officers, left behind in 1941, were enabled to escape from Greece by the Underground and that many Greeks were killed or tortured in helping them to do so. It is known that at the critical moment of the battle of Egypt and on the eve of El Alamein, the National Liberation Front proceeded to a general mobilization of its forces and succeeded in paralyzing almost all enemy communications running through Greece toward Libya. Bridges were blown up, trains and ships were wrecked, trucks were attacked in the open roads.

On the eve of the Sicilian campaign, the activities of the Greek guerrillas were very effective. They were able to confuse the enemy as to the point of the invasion and to pin down important German and Italian forces, thus saving at tremendous cost to themselves, and to the Greek people, the lives of many American and British boys who participated in that campaign.

In May, July, October and November, 1942, Guerrilla forces fought several successful battles in the district of Valtos in Central Greece. Under the guidance of a few gallant British officers they blew up the important Bridge of Gorgopotamo. They wiped out several Italian battalions in Skoulikaria, Yanniotika, Siatista, etc. On June 4, 1943 they blew up the tunnel of Kournovo between Larnia and Domokos. On August 9 of this year they killed in one single battle at Karpenissi, 1300 Germans and wounded a great many more.

It is impossible to enumerate here even the most important of the Guerrilla feats for which they have been congratulated by the Allied Military Mission in Greece and the High Command in the Middle East.

After the Italian Armistice the Germans decided to annihilate the Guerrillas. They attacked them in great force, burned villages and shot hostages. The Guerrillas in turn intensified their attacks against the Germans. According to a report of General Stefanos Sarafis, the man at the head of the ELAS, the losses inflicted upon the Germans by the EAM from June, 1943, to April, 1944, amounted to 12,000 and the Bulgarian losses to 400.

Unfortunately little of these and of the many other feats of the Greek Underground has been allowed to reach the great American Press by the stern British censorship because of the expressed feelings of the Greek Guerrillas against the British protegé King George II.

Free Greek Government

IN addition to fighting the enemy the Underground organized the internal administration of Free Greece.

Each liberated community, from the large to the small, has its elected Communal Council, in which the most progressive and capable elements of the district are represented. These Councils govern with the help of special popular Committees for Food, Health, Justice, etc.

The difficulties which such local administrations faced were tremendous. Greece lacked everything. Wherever Germans, Italians, or Bulgarians passed, they left the country denuded, without food, clothing, or medical supplies. It was a gigantic task to organize the production and distribution of even the most fundamental necessities of life under such conditions. But it was done.

Last March, Free Greece acquired a central government, operating within the country and representing not only the EAM, the EKKA, and other resistance organizations, but many of the independent political elements of the country as well. A committee of five prominent leaders of the Greek resistance, the Political Committee of National Liberation (PEEA), was formed to coordinate the activities of the various local administrations. Elections were also held, under the very eyes of the enemy, for a consultative assembly, which acts as the supreme legislative body. Some 250,000 people in Athens, 60,000 in Piraeus, other thou-

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sands of Greeks throughout the land, voted for their delegates.

At its inauguration in the mountain town of Karpenissi, the Political Committee took an oath to safeguard the freedom and the interest of the Greek people. This town has become the seat of the Committee and the capital of Free Greece.

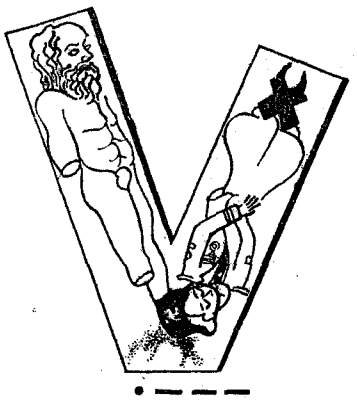
When the EAM was first formed, it was welcomed by the governments of the Allies, even though it was well known that Communists not only participated in the movement but were prominent in it. Any military activity against the Germans was a contribution to Allied strength, and the Allies helped as much as possible with arms and ammunition. But as soon as the crisis passed and on the other hand the Greek liberals took a strong stand against the King, then the cry of "Communist" was raised. And the anti-communist campaign continued in the case of Greece even after the change of the Allied policy toward Yugoslavia's Tito.

The royal Government in Exile as well as its foreign supporters were especially alarmed at the news of the formation of the Political Committee. They immediately tried to create the impression everywhere that the Committee was unilateral and dominated by Communists.

Disregarding all the tendentious reports of its composition and activities which were spread abroad, the Political Committee, instead of attacking the Government in Exile, extended its hand and recommended the formation of a coalition government in which all political parties and underground organizations would participate.

In August of 1943, a delegation representing all Greek political parties and organized resistance—consequently the entire Greek people, united as never before in their history—had come to Cairo and asked for the formation of a coalition government and for a statement from the King that he would not return to Greece before the people, through a plebiscite, had rendered their decision on the question of the regime. Instead of supporting the proposal, the British authorities immediately placed the leaders of the Greek resistance under house arrest, and vigorously reprimanded the Government in Exile for having approved the demand of the Greek people.

The British Foreign Office apparently



believes that British interests in the Mediterranean could be better served by a reactionary monarchy than by a democratic people's government, and it would not tolerate anything which might weaken the position of King George II. The campaign to divide and defame the Greek Underground was intensified. Minor differences were exaggerated between the EAM and the EDES, whose war activities, although carried on on a smaller scale than those of the EAM, were equally heroic; and word was spread in the outside world that the Guerrillas were wasting their strength in useless civil strife. At that very time Allied military missions in Greece were congratulating the Guerrillas on their heoric feats.

Coalition Sought

AGAIN the EAM appealed to Tsouderos, the then Prime Minister in Exile, to form a coalition government. Again he procrastinated. When he was asked by a committee of high ranking officers either to comply with the demand of the Greek people or resign, he arrested them, thus provoking the uprising of last April in the armed forces.

This uprising, regrettable as it was in itself, brought about the conference of the representatives of all Greek political parties and underground organizations at Lebanon in May of this year and the formation of the present Greek Government in Exile, which is more representative than any previous one since August 4, 1936.

At Lebanon, a National charter was signed to the effect that all parties and organizations should collaborate in the for-

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mation of a coalition government, which would reorganize and unify the armed forces, clarify the position of the King, and would work for the quick liberation of Greece and the satisfaction of her national claims. As soon as the Conference ended, the King asked Papandreou to become the Prime Minister.

The representatives of the EAM, of the Political Committee, and of the Communist Party, refused to participate in the government formed by Papandreou after the Lebanon Conference. They asked for a clear-cut statement from King George II that he would not return to the country before plebiscite. The King would not make such a statement. Papandreou offered instead a unanimous decision of the Cabinet to the effect that it was the will of the people that the King await the result of the plebiscite. The representatives of the Underground remarked that such a decision could easily be reversed by a new one, taken later by the same or another Cabinet appointed by the King. In any case, such a statement has never been made by the King.

The underground leaders asked for the release of those detained in various concentration camps and prisons because of their sympathies with the EAM. Papandreou refused. The underground leaders asked that the Government in Exile immediately denounce the so-called Security Battalions, formed by the German controlled Rallis government in Greece for the purpose of fighting the ELAS. Papandreou, theoretically, did not refuse that, but he took no action.

The underground leaders further asked for the Ministry of the Interior, in addition to the other Ministries offered them, and for the right to appoint an Under-secretary of War, who would reside in Greece and take charge of all Guerrilla forces. Papandreou answered: "They ask us to surrender Greece, we refuse." If those Ministries were granted to them, he said, the Cairo Government would retain nothing but "a few Ministries looking after Greek foreign affairs."

Underground Real Issue

PAPANDREOU'S assertion was completely inaccurate. He would have kept the Ministry of War, the Ministry of the Navy, and the Ministry of the Air; he would have had at his disposal all armed forces now outside of Greece and the backing of the Allies, if, as it was insinuated, the Communists had tried to establish a dictatorship in Greece after the liberation. To the objective observer, it appeared probable that Papandreou's real intention was to dissolve the ELAS and the EAM, with no guarantee that, once this had been accomplished and the people had lost their power, the King would not try to impose his dictatorship

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upon the country, with the help of his foreign supporters.

About the Middle of July, negotiations came to a standstill. The representatives of the EAM, the Political Committee, and the Communist Party went back to Greece to deliberate with their colleagues. They extended their hand once more to the Government in Exile, cabling that they would accept all other conditions, provided that Papandreou resigned and a new Prime Minister was appointed. They could not, they felt, continue to work with someone who had so violently attacked the Greek Underground and who had created the impression that he intended to crush the popular movement of resistance.

London Intervened

UNDER the pressure of three liberal members of his cabinet, Papandreou declared that he would not allow himself to become an obstacle to national unity, and that he would resign. But that was not to the taste of the British Foreign Office. It immediately intervened, advised Papandreou to stay in office, and let the liberal Ministers understand that they must keep silent.

A new telegram was dispatched to the Greek mountains advising the Committee of Papandreou's new decision. Given the choice between civil war on the very eve of liberation, or temporary concession to the will of the British Foreign Office, the leaders of the Underground yielded and agreed to participate in the Papandreou government and to dissolve the Political Committee in Greece.

Shortly before the underground representatives entered the government, however, Venizelos, Mylonas, and Rentis, the three Ministers who had advised Papandreou to resign, tendered their resignations, which were accepted. The official explanation for these resignations was that the Ministers were not in full accord with Papandreou's national policy. It is commonly believed, however, that their intention was to protest the methods which British diplomacy had applied to Greek political matters.

With the participation of the representatives of the EAM, the PEEA, and the Communist Party in the Government in

Exile, formal unity has been achieved. Internal conditions in Greece, however, are still far from being settled. Allied diplomacy has paralyzed the efforts of Greek democrats to such an extent that no one can predict what course events will take. Much depends upon Papandreou's subsequent behavior. If he sincerely collaborates with his Ministers and with the Great Powers in order to attain the free expression of the peoples' will and the complete reconstruction of the country, Greece will develop normally. It may pass through temporary political crises, but the people themselves in the long run will find the best solution of their problems if left free, and if they receive adequate help from their Allies.

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FREE WORLD'S

Thumbnail Definitions: THE FASCIST MIND

THE precise diagnosis of a fascist mind will of course have to take into account specific social surroundings, but in general one of the following characteristics will always serve as a detector:

1. A chauvinistic superiority complex

Systematic denial of moral, spiritual and economic values of other nations; a state of mind of hatred of the British, French, Polish, American or other peoples as a whole, and applied to every member of that respective nation.

2. A racial superiority complex

Violent anti-Semitic feeling, hatred and contempt of Negroes and Orientals; in Asia contempt of the white man, etc.; denial of the possibility of peaceful coexistence of different races.

3. Opposition to organized labor

Deification of the unlimited profit motive; opposition to workers' unions, cooperatives, political labor movements, in whatever militant and independent form; survival of desire for a slave class; conviction that demands for higher wages are the result of union "conspiracy."

4. Hatred of the democratic process

The conception that the political expression of the majority is of no real value to the "higher destiny" of the nation; that the democratic process favors only undisciplined, soft habits; contempt for the human personality, and denial of fundamental human rights to every citizen.

5. Cruelty and sadism

Adoption of terroristic methods to suppress any minority, readiness to persecute whole groups of people and to take away indiscriminately their rights.

6. Anti-intellectual attitude

The conception that knowledge and education are of no real value to a nation, that they weaken and effeminate it; opposition to scientific research other than technical and industrial.

7. Opposition to international cooperation

Strong dislike for the very concept of the necessity of international coopera-

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tion; belief that one's own nation will always lose by it; that the other nations will always benefit; denial of interdependence, etc.

8. Cynicism and a policy of lies

Absolute denial of any moral or superior value; lack of belief in progressive society; labeling of every progressive tendency as communistic, anarchistic or crackpot; constant distortion of truth.

9. Ultra-militarism and ultra-imperialism

Denial of any possibility that peace can be attained by other than military means; denial of any rule of law in international relationships; belief that colonial dependencies are rightfully acquired possessions which should never be given up under any circumstances.

10. Opposition to scientific explanations

Refusal to accept any logical or scientific explanation, opposing to them such mystical and irrational slogans as "Blood, soil, ancestors," "America first," or "England first" or "China first" . . .

In forthcoming issues Louis Dolivet will continue his Thumbnail definitions with the fascist slogans of various countries and the preparation for Fascism II.

Freedom of Information

FREE WORLD's symposium on the freedom of the press, within the framework of which Messrs. James L. Fly, Sumner Welles, Kent Cooper and Christopher Chancellor wrote some remarkable articles in the last two issues, has created a great amount of interest. In the last few weeks many articles have appeared in various parts of the world underlining the necessity of making Freedom of Information a basic element of the coming international organization. Secretary Hull has indicated the support of the American Government for this idea, and from Paris comes word that the Chief of the French Press Agency holds similar views.

In our next issue, we will publish further contributions on this subject, notably one by Hugh Baillie, Director of the United Press.

At the end of the symposium we will publish our conclusions on the whole debate; at this time we submit that Freedom of Information alone is not sufficient to guarantee real independence. The avoidance of monopoly control is just as important in this field as in all others, and it seems to us that publicity on the revenue from advertising and other sources is an important requirement to really free information. In most European countries it is also believed that sources of income must not only be publicized but also controlled in order to prevent anonymous financial powers from controlling the means of information.

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SCIENCE AND PHILOSOPHY
PREPARE A NEW WORLD

Leaders of Thought Reveal Plans for a Better Humanity

THE hour of Man's Destiny has struck, the scientists say. In its long and painful climb out of the mists of prehistoric ignorance, through the centuries of recorded time, the human race has at last reached the era when it must prove itself the full master of its environment, or prepare for the annihilation Nature has always accorded the unfit.

The social environment of the human species has become constantly more complex with Man's success in conquering space, in making the planet yield ever greater riches to support the growing numbers of mankind. The deficiencies in moral progress now are more threatening, the lack of adequate social patterns and techniques promises greater destruction than ever before. The devastating wars of our century are a symptom of Man's social failure rather than a test of his moral worth and fortitude. Nor will victories over the Axis provide permanent victory on our planet, unless we commence to devise a social ideal and a social structure for the world.

This is the warning of the scientists of many lands. And they offer . . . not shibboleths . . . but their accumulated data of research as the starting point for a NEW EVOLUTION OF MAN . . . a moral evolution. Nothing in what they say does violence to age-old human tradition and faith. Man's intuition always suggested the road that lay ahead . . . the role of informed thought today is to help him realize his moral and social dream.

This FREE WORLD symposium on Science and Philosophy is the first attempt to bring to men throughout the world the ideas of the great research workers who have given their attention to the solution of our problems. The immediate task is to coordinate their knowledge and direct its application to everyday living, to community relationships, to international affairs.

FREE WORLD plans to bring to its readers the scientists of Britain, of France, of America, of China . . . of every part of the globe . . . who have a contribution to make in this sphere. The planning and editing is in the hands of Blodwen Davies, William M. Malisoff, Oliver L. Reiser, Milos Safranek and John Somerville. The purpose is to lay down the first rough chart of the seas that lie ahead . . . the rough seas of the Post-War Period, into which, for better or for worse, our Planetary Ship is now headed.

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Building the World Brain

By

OLIVER L. REISER

The human race may yet destroy itself unless, before it's too late, it attains the ability to function as a living organism, with a "brain" to direct its activities, cohesion of all its parts, and a goal that can satisfy its craving for "wholiness."

TODAY many thoughtful persons are asking themselves a question: what is the nature of the crisis we are now passing through? Does World War II mark the closing of an epoch in human history? If so, is it the final crumbling into dust of the structure of our Western civilization? Or are we at the opening of a new era of intellectual and social advancement? What is the pattern of meaning in the welter of events which threatens to engulf us?

The answer to these questions is still to be given. The future of mankind is not at all clear. Certainly our civilization is in peril. As Jung says, man faces an abyss, from out of which anything may emerge. The virus of fanaticism blows across the world like a pestilence; racial, religious, partisan and natonal hatreds are everywhere present; the forces that would separate men frequently seem stronger than the bonds that unite. Constructive programs are so ineffectual that they seem unable to integrate our collective efforts into a broad social synthesis. There is really a fair prospect that the human race will destroy itself.

And yet there are signs of hope for man. Undoubtedly the wide dissatisfaction with the world as it is constitutes some grounds for optimism. It indicates the presence of an upreaching thrust through the old forms that hamper and restrain. Men want something better, even though they are not yet clear as to what it is they want nor what is the best method to follow in getting it. Fortunately many of us now agree on one thing: the urgency of the crisis demands extraordinary efforts; it calls for new techniques, a revamping of many of our old concepts, and perhaps the creation of new economic and political mechanisms for attaining our purposes.

As one surveys the forces at work in our society which are in the most strategic position for accomplishing these needed reforms, it seems obvious that one big hope for world unity lies in science and technology. Recognizing this all-important rôle of science as a world-unifying force, Waldemar Kaempffert recently proposed that a World Scientific Commission be organized through which scientists may exert social and educational influences on the post-war world.

It appears that Kaempffert takes it for granted that freedom will be a characteristic of a post-war world. But that is precisely

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what we cannot now take for granted. As an example of technological unification that is anti-humanistic, consider the world-wide monopoly of such basic industries as oil, rubber, metals, etc., by a few giant corporations which are partners in international cartels. Untouched by any form of democratic regulation, a few great monopolistic enterprises can control the distribution, development and price of things we all eat, wear and use. This is international unification—but it is not planetary humanism; it is planetary fascism.

Mr. Kaempffert is correct in emphasizing the social influence of science, but the solution to the problem of securing freedom will not be found in merely recommending that the scientists organize for political purposes. It is futile for the scientist, still equipped with his specialized mind, to sit at the peace table and legislate; but it is to be hoped that every research worker, in physics, economics, politics, the arts, and the rest, would be responsible for the working out of his share of a social vision which would be available to all. This philosophy is what we shall term "scientific humanism." Certainly the scientists have a responsibility outside the laboratory, but it is to that pool of thought which is enlightened social judgment. It is to be hoped that this collective social vision of scientific humanism will be to the next century what Marxism has been to the last—the fertile source of social experiment and educational change.

The Problem Stated

LARGELY as a result of the application of scientific research and discovery the world is undergoing a technological unification which is wiping out the old boundaries of distance and time. This unification through global technologies is bringing people closer together and therefore will inevitably produce political and economic readjustments. Whether men will be better off or worse off because of this togetherness is up to man. Freedom is not something that is automatically guaranteed by the technological unification of the world; it is something that must be striven for as an additional blessing beyond the mere oneness of the world. If man's humanity is to reaffirm itself through a higher, progressive society, we shall have to create that new type of universal culture for the free world society.

Politically, economically and technologically we are moving toward world federation, a more centralized control. This means that we must develop ideologically in the same direction and consciously evolve a universal ethics which will parallel the technological integration. In this coming world community a global economy is inescapable because our trade routes are global in reach, and we must therefore have a global administration to unify ideologically the federated peoples of the earth. Since air lanes and communications are global, and ether waves know no boundaries, our spiritual perspectives must expand to a planetary vision of unity.

Loyalty to Man

THIS implies that we must create a loyalty that will transcend nationalism, partisan antagonism, patriotism, and narrow ideologies. Loyalty to man must become the central, global motif of the new society, replacing limited loyalties by a world consciousness expressing a supra-national community. To place limitations upon these, the broadest of plans and concepts, is to risk disaster; anything less than total planetary planning will encourage the drift toward conflict and chaos and may well prove fatal.

When this war is over—indeed, in the very process of winning it—we face the need for creating patterns for international living, a world-encircling civilization with a universal ethics, based on a restored and extended international law. In the past, law and morality have been a matter of latitude, longitude and altitude, varying with time and place the world round. In the future we need to create a universal culture based on the principle of an organic society that harm to the least part is harm to the social whole.

The analogy of society to an organism has frequently been employed, often for the purpose of supporting quite contradictory social theories. St. Paul, Francis Bacon, Herbert Spencer, Oswald Spengler, and many others have drawn diverse implications from the organismic analogy. The

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use to which the theory is put in scientific humanism is based on this one proposition: in previous uses of the analogy the assumption is made that society *is* an organism, whereas in the newer view we propose that society *must become like an organism.* This poses the question, if society is not yet an organism, but can it in the future develop into one, what kind of social organism do we humans want to create?

Social Cortex

IN briefest terms the answer of scientific humanism to this question is this – the organism we want is one with a sensorium, a central nervous system, with a world-cortex for over-all planning and synthesis. In appealing to the organismic theory we take as the point of departure the idea presented by Dr. Charles M. Child, who states:

> Objections such as those that human society is not a big animal, that it has, for example, no stomach, no muscles, etc., etc., are just as true of many organisms as of society. It has been said that the social mind has no sensorium. But do not individuals in relation to each other and to the environment constitute the sensorium of the social mind just as truly as cells and cell groups in relation to each other and to the external world constitute the sensorium of the individual mind?

Unlike Professor Child, we do not argue that society as constituted at present *has* a sensorium; we argue that society, if it is not to disintegrate, must evolve on to a new level of organization where it acquires such an organ of integration. In this respect Julian Huxley (himself one of the scientific humanists) comes closer to a correct picture. As Huxley states the matter:

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> Before humanity can obtain on the collective level that degree of foresight, control and flexibility which on the biological level is at the disposal of human individuals, it must multiply at least tenfold, perhaps fiftyfold, the proportion of individuals and organizations devoted to obtaining information, to planning, correlation and the flexible control of execution. The chief increases are needed in respect of correlation and planning and of social self-consciousness. . . . In respect of planning and correlation, we can dimly perceive that some large single organization must be superposed on the more primitive system of separate government departments and other single-function organizations; and that this, like the cerebral cortex, must be at one and the same time unified and functionally specialized.

The elaboration of such a structure as Huxley has in mind is entirely possible, provided we are able to lift our heads above the confusion of clashing forces and frame a vision of what is required—something entirely new in evolutionary history.

In our formulation of the problem we describe the structure which must be evolved as a World Brain or World Sensorium, an organ that will serve the same function in society which the individual nervous system, the cerebro-spinal axis, serves in the vertebrate organism. In explaining this theory, let us first describe in a general way the nature of the World Brain and then enumerate its several specific functions.

The World Brain is a collective, functional, social structure providing an organ of social vision capable of world surveys, planetary planning, and global execution of universal enterprises. Thus the World Brain will function as a sensory-motor mechanism on the social level, an eye-brain-mind layout, which will enable each individual man to cooperate with the eyes, brains and hands of others to produce a super-neural social synthesis. The most general function of this emerging organ of civilization is to provide the world federation of states (nations) and then transform this functioning federation into a supra-national community of friendly peoples.

Therefore, the World Brain, serving as the vehicle of the planetary society, must constitute an organ of intellectual and social dominance, harmonizing the conflicting interests of human groups ("racial," "religious," "political," etc.) the world over and conferring unity of purpose and a sense of direction upon the threatening chaos of social change. The functional group of World Coordinators (of a World Parliament) which administers the collective policies of the World Brain will correspond to the World Cortex of the social organism.

On this theory, which aims progressively to transform an analogy into a literal reality, we think of the World Brain as the head-end of the evolving social organism-to-be. The World Brain will be elaborated as the specific organ for mobilizing energies, unifying programs, and providing the means whereby subjective good will is integrated with objectified social intelligence to the end that we actualize the planetary wisdom of mankind. This means that the World Brain must provide what in biology is called a "master reaction," ordering in time and place the cooperative undertakings of economic-political units the world over, integrating these diverse but not independent activities into a social harmony. Therefore the World Brain must evolve and express a universal ethics; it must act as a "cultural universalizer."

Having thus described this new structure in general terms, let us enumerate the specific functions of this collective organ.

Functions of World Brain

THE World Brain is a supra-national social structure which has the following specific functions:

1.—To make possible a world community where political security is protected by a world intelligence service, a world police force and air patrol able to move into action at an hour's notice.

2.—To bring into being a functional society which can begin at once a world program of food distribution, with a controlled world transport and communications system, under a world price control, using the network of thousands of small community organizations on every continent as auxiliaries for rehabilitation, edu-

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cation, and broad cooperative action generally.

3.—To provide a means for economic, global planning—thus implementing the teed, while a broad nutrition and world Atlantic Charter—so that material security (food, shelter, and clothing) are guaranhealth service eliminate preventable diseases.

4.—To provide a universal theory and system of education, administered so far as possible by local personnel, thus protecting our new social concepts and freeing men's minds from prejudices calculated to warp our judgments. This calls for the international universities (of Bertrand Russell) and a world encyclopedia (of H. G. Wells).

5.—To set up an order of priority in introducing new social changes. After establishing a method for testing the essential validity of any project by its code of principles, it will be possible to assist in the promotion of any intellectual or social movement which is humanistically sound or the isolation of any proposal which is deemed ill-advised or deliberately anti-humanistic in its tendency.

It is not possible here to explain in detail the philosophy behind this program, nor to justify all the assumptions underpinning the foregoing set of functions to be fulfilled by the emerging World Brain. But in order to give some indication of what scientific humanism means, both as a philosophy and as a program of action, we shall outline one application of this approach. This involves a brief glance at the place of polarities in nature.

Basic Polarities

WHAT we have urged is this: that society can "get ahead" only if it develops a head. Our appeal for cephalization—that society must develop a World Brain to serve as an organ of collective and unified action—is based on the general idea of biological dominance and subordination, which in turn is an example of *polarity* in nature. Many manifestations of the universe are polar in nature; centripetal-centrifugal forces operate universally; attraction and repulsion are twin activities; positive and negative electricity are found everywhere and are equally essential to the development of forms on all levels of evolution. And since society is a natural manifestation, it must have its basic polarities. Indeed social evolution itself seems to depend upon our ability to produce a balanced, dynamic spiraling movement in time toward some polarized objective.

In terms of polarities, the industrial society may be looked upon as a type of body-soul organism. Technology is the "body" and socialism (humanism) is the "soul." Heretofore these two have been specialized. Historically technology has served as a subordinate of capitalism, which, under the guise of "individualism," built up a vast, powerful and exclusive party in which the individual worker by economic pressure is reduced to the status of the "spare parts" of industry.

Role of Socialism

SOCIALISM in the past has served as the instrument in the fight against capitalism; it has been the tool of political groups who extracted the principles of socialized living from out of a fragmented social context and made them the weapon of a class struggle, violating the basic ideals of humanistic socialism just as capitalism violated the basic ideals of the creative thinkers (scientists) who produced technology.

The result has been that the people themselves, in whom these two principles should have been cooperatively at work, came to regard both capitalistic technology and fragmented (limited) socialism with suspicion, and so the ultimate synthesis of these two social vectors has been delayed.

The youth of technology was exuberant. We tolerated many of its errors because of its periodic compensating prosperity. But technology must now come of age. We expect in the adult a sense of responsibility and the capacity to integrate himself with society and contribute to it. In the same way the industrial age must show signs of reason and responsibility. The coming age of global technology must grow into a body-soul organism of a planetary society, and now is the time for the "body" to allow the "soul" to play its rôle in introducing wisdom and intelligent purpose into social administration.

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When that happens the phrase "industrial age" will no longer mean by implication an age of cruelty, class struggle, and ugliness. It will mean an age in which man's ingenuity, his inventiveness, and prophetic capacity, cultural and administrative, will take command of the world in which the human race evolves. Planetary socialism, which is only another name for scientific humanism, will then become as much a part of our industrial age as scientific technology. Then sanity and vision will express themselves through a world community.

Humanism in Action

IN thinking over the problem of how to implement this social idealism, it appears that the most accessible tool we possess to move mankind into planetary planning and execution is provided by the concept of *health*. Health must be the foundation of a successful planetary socialism. Walking in the streets brings us face to face with so many caricatures of humanity who are made so through malnutrition, anxiety and disease, that it is at once obvious that everyone has a stake in health.

To start our campaign for a "new humanity" by offering the vision and hope of universal good health to every land, "allied" and "enemy" alike, would be a great thing. If all else had to conform to this pattern, it would be easier to get ahead in the matter of economic and political reforms. There is here a "tidal wave" of humanistic energy, if only it can be harnessed by awakening humanity to the meaning of basic health. Education could be ad- advanced, industry and agriculture speeded up, by planetary good health. Something of this sort must be done to translate the philosophical ideals of scientific humanism into the dynamic of desire on the part of great masses of people.

It is very significant that the United Nations organization known as UNRRA has adopted a policy based on the proposition that any man, anywhere, requires a basic diet providing essential vitamins, calories, and so forth. That, coupled with the fact that man is a species that covers the earth, indicates the necessity for a planetary society. If this policy could be based on the relation of health needs to the requirements of education, UNRRA would be in a strategic position to serve as the spearhead of scientific humanism (planetary socialism).

In this connection the summary of the Report by the League of Nations Commission on Nutrition is a volume that could be used as dynamite. These findings should be universally applied, in such places as India, for example. It is appalling to realize how much we can do, with our knowledge of medical science and of nutrition, to wipe out the handicapping physical conditions which are so widespread, if only we made our human intelligence socially effective. This, surely, is one of the first steps in rebuilding society, because this is the sort of thing that affects everyone, young and old, rich and poor. A program based on health is so "practical" that any special interest groups would attack it at their peril.

We previously mentioned the necessity for producing a balanced, dynamic spiraling movement toward some magnetized objective. It is in such concepts as planetary good health that scientific humanism finds these objectives. Such a broad planetary polarity might well serve as the needed catalyzer which could project into the fluid "solution" of world cultures the magnetic pattern of a global society, cohering the parts and dispersing the current patterns of anti-humanistic vectors.

The possibilities in this direction are indicated by showing how far one can build by using the foundational concept of health as the basis for a new society. We start with:

I. The primary objectives of the new society:

The wiping out of malnutrition
The wiping out of preventable diseases
The control of industrial diseases

This leads to other objectives which, by common consent, would probably be widely accepted as the basis of the new society, such as:

II. Supplementary objectives of the new society:

Health and nutrition
Housing
Education

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These factors would imply, next, something that has never yet been attempted (except in rationing), and the crucial point at which capitalism broke down and is still helpless:

III. Further economic planning:
Total Employment
Planned Production
Planned Distribution

These things in turn imply:

IV. Planetary political coordination:
World Government
World Economics (international currency stabilization, etc.)
World Police Force

Here, then, we have a significant part of the theory and program of scientific humanism as it relates to the next big step in social evolution. Those who belong in the ranks of planetary socialism are ordinary men, with most of the physical and mental equipment we know so well, but these humanists seem to have caught the gleam. From their viewpoint they think they see something important: they believe that the peoples of this planet must learn that accidents of birth, color, and nationality are not so important as learning to live together.

We cannot have the fullest measure of world collaboration on the level of economics and politics until we have a synthesis of ideals at the highest level of organization, and this is among the top-ranking research scientists, scholars, artists, philosophers and teachers of the world. We must have this archetypal unity on the highest levels, flowing out to organize the chaos of contemporary civilization, if we are to survive. This flow of ideals will of course be warped and twisted as it reaches other levels of use, but these ideals will have a much better chance of realizing some adequate form if they are not fragmented at the very source.

It must always be remembered, however, that scientific humanism is something more than a program of sociological reform. Man's irrepressible spiritual (wholeness-seeking) qualities must come into the total picture before humanity can be galvanized into collective enthusiasm and action. Man's "hidden hunger" can no longer be satisfied by mere "economic" and "political" enterprises, or anything else but its own vitamin-lack. In a real sense, therefore, we are launched upon the quest for that upward-spiralling urge which alone can satisfy man's "hunger for wholiness." In other words, whereas in the past humanism has been earth-bound, now it is time to give it wings. There is nothing more important happening in our world today than this attempt to fuse and unify human aspiration at these highest levels of thought and feeling.

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Our Goal Unity

But Germans Are Unfit

BY
ALBERT EINSTEIN

The great savant granted FREE WORLD this interview in which he defines the social obligation of the scientist, expresses doubt regarding the destiny of the Germans.

Question: *The advance of science has made impossible a return to the old world of isolationism, to a compartment world. What is, therefore, the best way, the chief way, in which scientists can make their influence felt toward the aim of world cooperation?*

EINSTEIN: In my opinion scientists can collaborate in achieving the goal of international security if they take a stand in the face of public opinion for the establishment of an international body with both a permanent personnel and a permanent military force. Such a collective step undertaken by the greatest possible number of prominent intellectuals is all the more necessary as none of the governments of the great powers appear willing to relinquish any portion of their sovereignty in international affairs without strong pressure of public opinion.

Question: *In certain quarters the view seems to be held that a genuine scientist or a "pure" scientist should not concern himself with political issues. Would you care to comment on this view?*

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EINSTEIN: I think that it is the duty of every citizen according to his best capacities to give validity to his convictions in political affairs. If this duty is neglected by intelligent citizens capable of judgment, there can be no sound democracy.

Question: *What relationship, if any, do you see between the progress of physics and mathematics and the progress of society?*

EINSTEIN: Physics and mathematics are important for the community, firstly, because they fecundate technical development and, secondly, because like all finer cultural endeavors, they are efficient counter-weights against the dangers of sinking into an odious materialistic attitude toward life which leads to the predominance of unrestrained selfishness.

Question: *What educational measures should be taken to undo the effects of Nazi training, and re-direct the German people in the paths of democracy?*

EINSTEIN: The Germans can be killed or constrained, but they cannot be re-educated to a democratic way of thinking and acting within a foreseeable period of time.

Faith and Reason in Double Harness

by

C. H. WADDINGTON

To find out what ethical beliefs are worthy of adoption will be as serious a task as finding out the nutritive value of foodstuffs. Only by a scientific method of approach can we hope to find out intellectually satisfying derivations of the goals toward which social endeaver should be directed.

THE essential human characteristic is that Man cannot live by faith alone; he is the one animal which insists on supporting faith by reason. Admittedly, three-quarters of our behavior lacks any analytical basis. Walking, we drop down a step and swing round a corner without any conscious formulation of the mechanical stresses which our muscles will have to take up; driving an automobile, we see the child playing ball, the truck moving off, the traffic lights, and we take the appropriate action "instinctively."

Similarly men may be convinced, even to the point of risking their lives, that neighborliness and decency must be supported,

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tyranny and oppression defeated, simply because that is the feeling they have got about the world, that is the way they see things. Such an attitude is adequate enough when all goes well. But as soon as one sprains one's ankle it becomes a matter of the first importance to think how to juggle with the mechanics of walking so as to minimize the pain. And our general ethical and social beliefs are rarely so successful, and so unchallenged, that we can feel comfortable at leaving them based merely on an unanalyzed faith.

When man, finding himself in some difficulty, calls reason to his aid, his temptation has always been to ride that self-willed horse on too free a rein. A magnificent system builds itself up in no time, proving that so and so must be the case, that something else cannot be true. Puritan merchants could invoke the ultimate nature of existence to demonstrate logically that the possession of wealth was a sign of God's favor. But a mediaeval Franciscan friar, with equal subtlety of reasoning, could argue that carefree poverty is the most holy state of man. Both systems were convincing, each to its appropriate temperament, since they applied to the social sphere where there was no obvious way to assess which was most successful in producing the results desired.

Matters are very different in the simpler fields of mechanics and engineering, though mankind was surprisingly slow to discover it. Whatever the rational system might say about the speed of fall of light and heavy bodies, Galileo had to do no more than walk round to the Leaning Tower of Pisa to find an opportunity to see for himself. Newton could not only elaborate a comprehensive system of mechanics, he could proceed—in fact the demands of the engineers of his time were such that he could not help proceeding—to show that it worked.

Beginning in the field of mechanics, man learned a staggeringly successful technique of driving faith and reason in double harness; he learned that the successful method is to let logic take a step or two, but then to stop and humbly allow unforced observation to confirm whether it does see the world like that or not.

The method is of course so powerful that no alternative is thinkable as a basis for our material existence. If there occurred a general destruction of the scientific knowledge on which our production so largely depends, a considerable proportion of the world's inhabitants would rapidly die of famine. Even if scientific advance were halted at its present stage, it is quite likely that man would be unable to surmount the difficulties which arise in a civilization as complex as that which we now live in.

There is no reason to expect either of these contingencies. All the probabilities suggest that the ordinary course of daily life will continue to become ever more permeated wth scientific techniques and appliances. It will be brought home to the majority of the world's inhabitants, with increasing force as time goes on, that the methods of science do work, at least within the material and technical spheres, and that scientific truth does stand up when put to the test of practice.

Scientific Methods Work

THERE has already been an extremely powerful spread of this conviction that scientific methods work in the material world. It may provoke the suspicion—and it is often something much more definite than a suspicion—that similar methods are the only way of getting at the truth. Or its effect may be more negative, merely making any argument which is not scientifically secure seem unconvincing and inadequate. In the Middle Ages, man was content to base his most profound convictions on Faith alone; by the Eighteenth Century, the sophisticated at least had come to rely on Reason.

At the present time, there are comparatively few people interested in intellectual matters who can feel content with either a purely theological or a purely philosophical account of the fundamentals of human conduct. And with the spread of the successful application of science, more and more people will lose the comfort of a naïve acceptance of the older ways of thought; more and more will come to feel that if they take the trouble to look thoroughly into the conventional foundations of their belief in decent and honest behavior, they will not find any firm support on which to base it. It is difficult to see

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how civilization could long survive in such conditions.

Some basis must be found for the fundamental beliefs on which civilized life depends; a basis which is convincing to the citizen whose radio demonstrates to him the validity of electronics, who drives his automobile over a bridge which allows of no doubt that the laws of statics hold, and whose eye, alighting on a sheer Nylon stocking, is reassured as to the efficacy of organic chemistry. But it is never possible to revive, on a wide scale, a form of belief which has been out-distanced by the advancing technique of thought. Moreover, not only are our fundamental beliefs expressed in ways which do not sound right, which have not got the air of cogency, but there are several developments of scientific investigation which seem to throw great doubt on them.

The Freudians, for instance, give reasons for tracing ethical ideas back to mere details of family relationships in the early months of life. Marxists, following a different set of clues, find an origin for the same ideas in economic relations between classes. And anthropologists point out that many of our most cherished ideals (though perhaps not the most basic ones of all) are not shared by many peoples living in the world today. All these things, at first sight, make it difficult to give reasons for supposing that our ideals have the generality of application, or the independence of accidental circumstances, that we should require of a system on which a widely shared civilization was to be erected.

Attack on Ethics

IF scientific thought has crumbled our ethical system by attack in detail, modern philosophers have been largely successful in blowing the whole thing up *en masse*. Starting with Wittgenstein, they have argued that the type of question which is normally asked about right and wrong is one to which no satisfactory answer could conceivably be made; and the question itself must therefore be without meaning or significance.

Put in its simplest form, their argument runs thus: Suppose I ask you "What is the ultimate criterion of goodness"; you may answer something like for instance, "The greatest happiness of the greatest number of people"; but if I go on to ask you "Why is that good," you can only attempt to answer either by saying you just know it is, which gets us no further, or you must say "Well, I know the good is something else (such as the Will of God) and that certainly covers what I said before." But then the philosophers can go on to ask why this second idea is the good, and press you back to invent still a third definition, and so on indefinitely. The situation is exactly like arguing about taste in food; "Why do you like these cookies?", "Because they taste of honey," "And why do you like honey?", "Because it tastes sweet," "And why do you like sweet things?" and so on until eventually there is nothing to say except you *do* like them.

It is probably true that, in the conventional terms, there is no possibility of a satisfactory answer to the question of what is good and what our ideals should be. But it is just here, in my opinion, that science can come to our aid, no longer as a destructive force dissolving away the old certainties, but as a method of thought which itself leads to a comprehensive view of the world which includes our social behavior and the ideals by which it is, or might be, guided.

That such a suggestion is not implausible may be seen by considering the argument about food. Science of course leads to very specific and detailed ideas about what is and what is not good food; much more definite ideas in fact than most people derive from their subjective sensations of taste. Science arrives at these ideas by tackling the problem from quite a new angle; it inquires what are the functions which foods fulfill? Or, if the idea of a "function" seems to beg too many questions, you can say that science asks what part science plays in the network of casual reactions in which it is involved.

The answer, of course, is that food is one of the factors in a complex of happenings whose total result is the growth of an animal. Merely by observing a large number of human individuals, we can say what is normal or "good" growth, and science can then set about discovering what kinds of food are helpful in producing such growth. In this way, science arrives at a definition

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of good food which has a perfectly definite and understandable meaning, which nobody seriously questions.

Science and Ethics

IF we are to arrive at a statement of the ethical basis of social life which will carry conviction in a scientific age, it is along some such lines as these that we must seek it. And already there seems no great difficulty in seeing the kind of argument which we can put forward as a scientific basis for the essential ideals on which civilization rests.* Treating the matter exactly as we treated the problem of food, we should first inquire what function ethical beliefs fulfil. In general terms the answer is obvious; these beliefs make it possible for men to live together in society; without them, mankind would be no more than a collection of isolated egoists, perpetually battling each for himself alone. This point of view in itself is enough to give us grounds for asserting that ethical beliefs which are helpful to social life are "better" (i.e., fulfil more adequately the normal function of all ethical systems) than those which are inimical to it.

But we can go further than that. Social systems are not static affairs; they are continually changing and evolving, just as an individual man or animal is continually growing. We can, by the study of history and anthropology, discover what has been the general direction in which social evolution has occurred. And we shall then be able to attain a new degree of precision in stating ethical principles—they should be such as to encourage the development of society in that general direction. Finally, if we wish to base our ideas on the widest possible foundation, we can begin our argument from the general tendency of evolution throughout the whole animal kingdom; we can criticize the evolution of societies according to whether they are congruent with this overall trend; and we can criticize various people's ethical ideas according to whether they further social advance in the direction of world history.

*A fuller discussion is given in my "Science and Ethics" (Allen & Unwin, London, 1942) in which the present thesis is argued against a number of eminent critics and commentators.

This scientific approach to the problem of ethics does not attempt to answer the conventional question "What is the definition of Goodness?" – the question which philosophers tell us is unanswerable. Instead it merely seeks to discover what ideals are appropriate to the world as we know it—to a world, it is worthwhile emphasizing, which we know as not a static but a dynamic, changing affair. In exactly the same way, if somebody says he does not agree with the scientific ideas about nutrition, and asks "Why shouldn't I feed my child so that he gets rickets?", science can give him no specific answer in terms of what he ought or ought not to do. It can merely point out that the course of animal evolution has been of such a kind that, judged against that background, one can say that rickets is an abnormality. The final court of appeal is thus the general character of the world. It is the same court to which science must appeal when it tries to discuss what our ideals should be.

Appropriate Ideals

IT is in terms of this appeal to the general nature of reality that one can hope to find a liaison between the scientific formulation of ethics and the older formulations, particularly the religious. There has always been a strong current of religious thought which holds that the will of God is manifest in His creation, and that a man's religious duty can be read in an examination of the world, God's second scripture, "that universal and public manuscript, that lies expansed unto the Eyes of all," as Sir Thomas Browne called it. There need therefore be no antagonism between the man who relies on religious conviction and he who wishes to state explicitly the logical line of argument by which he derives his ideals from the nature of the world.

There is clearly no space in an article such as this to attempt a description of what the course of animal evolution, or even of social development, has been. But it will probably be accepted by most people that an ethic based on the principle that it must operate in the direction taken by the main historical process will be one which will have some appeal for the

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majority of men. There is no reason to expect that, if science attempts to handle such problems, it will issue in completely revolutionary precepts which outrage our normal feelings. Much more can we expect that it will support and enrich the intuitions on which the greater part of mankind have attempted to base their lives.

In particular we can, from the very first glance at the historical and evolutionary process, be certain that such a criterion will find it easier to accept the ideals of the democratic nations than those of the Nazis who explicitly repudiate all social progress since the French Revolution, and whose extremists would have European man return to the worship of Wotan, or even to the stone age. Throughout animal evolution we can see clearly an increase in the range and subtlety of the powers of the individual; and throughout man's social history we can see an increase in his powers to organize himself in groups whose social cohesion does not obliterate his individuality. No ideal which stresses either the individual or society to the exclusion of the other can claim to be carrying forward the general processes of the human past.

Exactly what balance to strike between the individual man and group is a matter for argument—in fact, at the present time it is the matter of all others about which some agreement has to be reached. But how shall we approach it? The conventional approach relies in the last analysis, on mere assertion. "I feel that Russian Communism does not allow enough scope for individual freedom." "On the other hand, I think that monopoly Capitalism does not sufficiently recognize the bonds which should knit together all the members of a society.

As the scientific approach becomes more generally adopted, we shall find ourselves forced to abandon such crude statements, and to substitute a real job of work, a responsible investigation into what effects various social alternatives are actually likely to have on the development of human society. To find out what ethical beliefs are worthy of adoption will be as serious a task as finding out the nutritive value of foodstuffs. It will demand not argument, but work; the careful, systematic, plodding work by which science advances. Until much more of this is done, there will not be adequate data on which to erect a scientific ethic capable of dealing, in a fully convincing way, with all the pressing alternatives that confront us.

The advance of science toward a dominant position in the intellectual world has seemed to many to threaten the undermining and dissolution of all those beliefs on which civilized life depends. According to the point of view which I have been urging, the very opposite is actually the case. Only by a scientific method of approach can we hope to find an intellectually satisfying derivation of the goals toward which social endeavor should be directed. And in so far as this is true, one of the very first of our goals must be to develop the sciences which deal with the casual analysis of evolutionary and social change. The goals we shall seek must be founded on patient observation and understanding; and the first endeavor must be to carry out the observations and obtain the understanding. The advance of science should be not merely welcomed; it should be striven for.

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BOOKS

MACNIMSEY Will Beat the Japs

PACIFIC VICTORY 1945, by Joseph Driscoll. Lippincott. 297 pages. $3.00

JOSEPH DRISCOLL moves as fast as does the war in the Pacific about which he writes. He finished his manuscript and hurried to the battlefields of France from which his dispatches have come to the New York *Herald Tribune*. As he left for Europe, he hopefully declared that he was convinced the war would not last "forever."

The author wagers on a victory against Japan in 1945 because he was with our naval craft, large and small, our carriers, our soldiers, sailors, and marines on the jungle islands of the Pacific, and with their four star generals and admirals. He saw what had been accomplished and he learned what was in the minds of our highest commanders.

In one prediction, Joseph Driscoll is already proved right. He called the fall of Guam before the end of 1944. It was completely in American hands one month before his book appeared in print.

He writes in the manner of thought and language of the fighting man on the battlefront. He hates the Japanese and is not reticent in urging the use of poison gas against them. Inelegantly, he voices the slogan— "Let's cook 'em with gas—and soon."

Our road to Tokyo as the author pictures it, has six lanes—Alaska to Asia (closed to us unless Russia enters the war against Japan); Aleutians into Japan's Home Islands; across the Central Pacific to Honshu; the MacArthur-Halsey route from New Guinea, New Britain and the Solomons with the Philippines as the main objective; the Mountbatten Royal Road to Tokyo; and bases in China opened up via the Burma Road and by landings on the Chinese coast.

Leaving strategy and future victories, Joseph Driscoll presents the personalities of those he refers to as the Architects of Victory. Admiral Chester Nimitz is seen relieving Admiral Kimmel after the debacle of Pearl Harbor with a friendly handshake and the remark—"You have my sympathy—the same thing could have happened to me." Whereas the author admits that at first he was inclined to the common belief that Nimitz was colorless, he came to think of the Admiral as an "all-round, colorful character."

Admiral Richmond Kelly Turner of the amphibious forces is credited with turning the lesson learned at Tarawa to good account when he returned to capture the Marshalls. The Emperor of Japan thanked Turner for carrying home the ashes of Ambassador Saito aboard the U.S.S. Astoria. Some years later Turner was but a few miles away when the Japanese ungratefully sank the Astoria and Turner's own flagship as well.

The author cannot hide his pro-navy leanings when discussing General Douglas MacArthur. The navy is not pleased when MacArthur insists that blockade and bombing alone cannot beat Japan. Navy, air and ground forces are needed to win.

General MacArthur is quoted as emphasizing that "the strongest military element of Japan is her army, which must be defeated before our success is assured. This can only be done by use of the ground forces. It is useless to talk of short-cuts. They do not exist." Pointing-up this statement, the author sees MacArthur hinting that the main task is one for an army man, a general rather than an admiral.

Army-Navy Sniping

SNIPING between the navy and MacArthur is described as an "extreme case" wherein Americans at home cannot realize the resentment which the mere name of MacArthur arouses in navy breasts. Six stanzas of unflattering navy verse are given under the "Doug's Communiqué." Two lines are typical:

> "And while possibly a rumor now, some day it will be a fact
> "That the Lord will hear a deep voice say, 'Move over God, it's Mac.'"

General MacArthur, while disclaiming political ambitions, is intensely interested in the presidential election, says Joseph Driscoll, to whom the General made clear his estimation

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that neither Willkie nor Dewey could beat President Roosevelt. The author had the impression that MacArthur felt he alone could do that.

Despite the friction between the army and the navy, the author praises the "fabulous military and naval character," MACNIMSEY—that hard-striking team of twelve stars—those of Nimitz, MacArthur and Halsey. However, in a measure, it is a house divided against itself. There is jealousy and resentment, particularly over official statements.

Admiral Halsey is given credit for his endeavor to better relations by warning his officers and men not to think of themselves as soldiers, sailors or marines, but as all belonging to one force—that of the U. S. A.

In the author's pageant of Pacific figures are included Lt. General Archer Vandegrift, head of the Marine Corps (consistently mis-spelled Vandergrift); James Roosevelt and his itinerant mother; Lt. Colonel Evans Carlson, and Sergeant Barney Ross.

No war correspondent can refrain from mentioning military censors but Joseph Driscoll tries to be fair and to see the censor's predicament as he is caught between the cross-fire of angry correspondents and his superiors. However, the author is wrathful over the French postmaster in New Caledonia who closed the radio station from Saturday afternoon until Monday morning, gagging American newsmen during the battle for Munda.

Pacific Victory 1945 pleads for sanity in regard to our soldiers in Australia. "Our Aussie Honeymoon is Over" is the text, and the author thinks it time we both got down to a more realistic attitude where our two peoples come into contact. He has similar views as to postwar occupation of Pacific islands.

"Our investment in manpower and money is enormous. No responsible person has said we should take over ownership (of the islands). On the other hand, no American who has been there thinks we should abandon possession the day the war is ended or even six months later."

Memories of men dying in seas of burning oil and "pilgrimages through the filthiest mud in the world" force Joseph Driscoll to the conclusion that war in the Pacific has no glamor. In the absence of glamor, "our boys are bored with the war and are resolved to finish the damn job in a hurry."

During the short time he was in the United States, the author concluded that we "did not know there was a war on." He is particularly bitter in denunciation of wives who betray their absent husbands. To those whom the shoe fits, he directs one startling sentence:

"Summing up the subject of our home front, I would say that the Jap's secret weapon is the faithless American wench."

Joseph Driscoll's prediction for an end to Japan in 1945 is supported by what he experienced and unconsciously absorbed in the midst of the Pacific war. It is a book of optimism and pride in the American officer, man, and machine. All of these essential elements of victory will be more fully supported, the more widely this book is read.

JOHN GOETTE

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A Check List of Forthcoming Books

NORMAL LIVES FOR THE DISABLED, by Edna Yost in collaboration with Dr. Lillian M. Gilbreth. Macmillan. What is America going to do about its wounded men? In a world at peace what must be done for persons physically handicapped? The authors review this problem and outline what has been and is being done to help wounded men rehabilitate themselves. The book includes the views and experiences of specialized teachers, industrialists, psychologists and psychiatrists.

LOOK TO THE FRONTIERS, by Roderick Peattie. Harper. A discussion of national boundaries and their relation to lasting peace. Dr. Peattie outlines the geographic distribution of people, races, ideologies and resources.

CHINA TAKES HER PLACE, by Carl Crow. Harper. Mr. Crow writes of China's past thirty years and gives his views on the nation's future after the Japanese invaders are driven out. He takes up such questions as: Will there be civil war between the Communists and the Nationalists? Will a strong united China be a menace to the rest of the world? How significant a development is the Cooperative Movement?

TIMELESS MEXICO, by Hudson Strode. Harcourt, Brace. A history of Mexico from Cortes to today: the conquest of Mexico under Cortes, the story of Mexico's fight for freedom under Hidalgo and Juarez, the Maximilian and Carlotta interlude and the revolution of 1910 with its resultant Mexico of today.

WINSTON CHURCHILL IN THE MIRROR. His life in Pictures and Story, by Rene Kraus. Dutton. A photo-biography of Britain's Prime Minister. The author follows Churchill's life and career from childhood onward with photographs and cartoons supplemented by brief commentary.

EUROPE. AN ATLAS OF HUMAN GEOGRAPHY, by Marthe Rajchman. William Morrow. Through maps and brief text Marthe Rajchman covers many problems fundamental to the European Continent regardless of political boundaries. Among the many questions dealt with are: Europe's physical aspects, climate, historical boundaries, ethnography, religions, populations, industries, agriculture, steel and electric power production, national income, foreign investments, trade, resources, emigration, rail, river and canal communications, harbors, food intake in occupied areas, and migration of industry.

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The Truth About Germany

FURLOUGH. A Novel, by Franz Hoellering. Viking Press. 251 *pages.* $2.50

THIS book is an act.

During the past few months several novels set in the Germany of today have appeared; but in all of these books, Germany merely provided the backdrop against which a few individual lives of a romantic or melodramatic nature were unfolded. The fight of the anti-Nazis who had escaped from concentration camps, or the tragedy of the underground fighters supplied the elements of suspense.

In this book, Hoellering's primary object was not to tell a "thrilling" story, but rather to portray everyday life in National Socialist Germany; his intention was not merely to present a psychological study of an "interesting" or an "unusual" character, but rather to give the reader an insight into the thoughts and reactions of an average nazi soldier. And the fact that Hoellering has succeeded in this attempt gives this novel its value.

The plot is quite simple. In the course of a quarrel, Hans, a German soldier fighting on the Eastern front, kills one of his comrades, appropriates the man's furlough papers and goes home. During the two weeks of his furlough, Hans experiences his Damascus. Gradually, almost unconsciously, this staunch Nazi is transformed, his convictions are worn down. The misery all around him, the horror engendered by the inhuman conditions and the vandalism rampant in the Reich, the apathy and the suffering—all these combine to shake his faith in the cause for which he has gone to war. When his furlough is over, he does not go back to the front, but instead joins the ranks of the deserters who, it is estimated, number more than a hundred thousand in Germany today.

In this nazi soldier, Hoellering, thanks to his intellectual honesty and objectivity, has succeeded in presenting a universally authentic portrait. Hans is not particularly wicked, or stupid, or intelligent. He is simply an immature boy who entered the Nazi Party as an adolescent, partly because of an adventurous spirit, partly from mistaken idealism. Once he has become a wheel in the Hitlerite war machine, he is lost. "To kill or be killed"—with this one phrase his entire philosophy of life is exhausted. And it is men like Hans who constitute the overwhelming majority of the German Army.

Just as typical—and because of that, just as convincing—are Hans' parents: the father, a deeply religious teacher who hates nazism with his entire soul; the mother, a real *mater dolorosa*. The brother-in-law, a democrat of the Weimar epoch, is inherently decent, but weak and passive. Hans' fiancee is one of those anonymous women who have kept intact their humanitarianism in spite of the horror surrounding them. She is an intrepid fighter in the Underground movement. She hates the Nazis, yet—all woman—she loves Hans. She is faithful to him, because she believes that he is essentially a good man. Her death—she is killed in one of the spontaneous anti-war demonstrations—is one of the most moving scenes I have read in a long time.

But apart from one single chapter, the novel has the power and the reality of a documentary report. The pictures of the munitions plants, of the lower middle-class homes, of the mountain village on the Czechoslovakian border, the war-prisoner transports—all these are as effective as the pictures of a newsreel.

Hoellering is no propagandist. He does not excuse the German people, nor does he deny their guilt. But for this very reason, his passionless exposition infuriates the reader against the Nazis; at the same time one feels an endless pity for those men and women in Germany who are caught between two fires. Victims of nazism, they are forsaken, hated by the entire world, utterly helpless, without the guidance of the democracies. Thousands of them fought against Hitler when large groups in the democratic countries were still convinced that you could "do business with Hitler." And it is among these groups that today many so-called realists are to be found who claim the right to sit in judgment on Germany. Their rosy dreams were undisturbed when the Nazis were indiscriminately murdering German Jews, German workers, German socialists, communists, Catholics and democrats alike. It was only when they felt themselves threatened that they suddenly discovered their moral and ethical principles.

Whether we are to have a "hard" or a "soft" peace—that is not the question. We must create social and economic conditions that will guarantee to Hitler's victims in the whole world that they have not fought and suffered in vain—those victims in France as well as in Poland, in Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia as well as those in Germany.

LEO LANIA

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From Vichy to Paris

PETAIN, THE OLD MAN OF FRANCE, by Janet Flanner. Simon & Schuster. 53 pages. $1.00

THE TRUTH ABOUT DE GAULLE, by André Riveloup, with an introduction by Edgar Ansel Mowrer. Arco Publishing Co. 74 pages. $2.00

THESE two books, friendly to the new France, are instructive and agreeable reading and are at present enjoying a deserved success in the United States.

Janet Flanner went to France as a friend. When she wants to, she thinks in French and in good French, the language and the history of our French nation holding no secrets for her. The fact that she was able to explore with such ease the moral anatomy, or more precisely, the immoral anatomy of the complicated Pétain, has not failed to astonish many of my compatriots. But not myself, who had the pleasure of knowing this charming journalist.

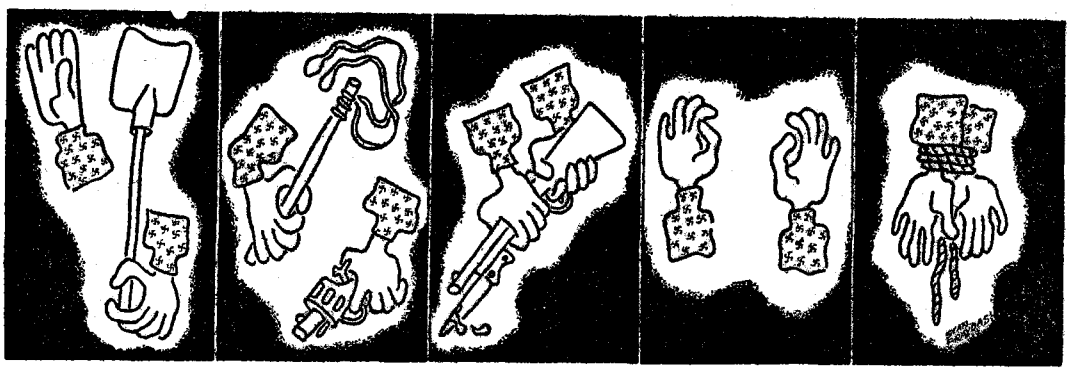
Pétain is exactly as she shows him in the biography she devotes to him, a biography which the readers of the *New Yorker* enjoyed first. Under the circumstances, it is not political: its severity grows out of its objectivity.

Pétain, during his youth and manhood, suffered from a terrible inferiority complex. Son of poor peasants, he was jealous, with a spirit of morbid revenge, against the rich among whom he lived, first at the Military Academy of Saint-Cyr, later in the garrison towns where as an officer he was quartered after he left this school. Ambitious and crafty, he managed during the Dreyfus affair to push himself into the Staff of General Zurlinden, Minister of War, without moreover profiting much by it. His ambition and his craftiness were handicapped by a certain mediocrity of spirit and of heart which made him handle himself and everybody around him, friend or foe, but especially foes, with kid gloves.

"Fana," the abbreviation for fanatic was a slang word of Saint-Cyr: the "Fana," on the campus, dreamed already of far and glorious expeditions which would make his name great. Never, oh never, would Pétain have been a "fana," nor would he have dreamed of leaving the metropolis for the colonies. He was sent to Morocco after the resignation of Lyautey, and there he made a poor showing and added to the hostility that Lyautey had always felt for him. "I do not wish to die yet," cried Lyautey in my presence at the table of Countess Murat, "for I would have Pétain behind my coffin." He had him there.

In Pétain there is no exalted feeling, either in things concerning the nation, or from the family point of view. Janet Flanner notes this in passing. One might have thought in reading his pious homilies from Vichy that he had at least a profound religious faith. An error! He married late, in a civil ceremony, almost secretly, in 1920, a certain Madame Hardon of whom it is not known whether she was divorced or whether her marriage was annulled. Annulled? By whom? By the Pope? Then why was not the new ceremony a religious one? Janet Flanner should explore this question which has an importance in completing the portrait of our national Tartuffe.

Pétain acquired his promotions in rank, in spite of the fact that he was a professor at the War College. He brought himself up "with the almanac under his arm," as Henri Bordeaux, one of his admirers observed. "Not to be promoted above the grade of colonel," read a note on his official dossier before the War of 1914. How did it happen then that during this war he became one of the top French officers? The policy of the General Staff then was: attack always and at all costs, and he was always for the defensive at all costs. The events bore him out sometimes. This caused him to be noticed. Nevertheless,



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if he had in 1918 at Doullens been named commander-in-chief in place of Foch, France would certainly have lost the war. Adviser to the Prime Minister and Minister of War Painlevé, he whispered to him as early as 1917 that famous phrase, "Grand-style offensives are over," which contributed so largely to Painlevé's fall. "A good man to take orders," Clemenceau very truthfully said of Pétain.

Speaking of Clemenceau may I ask Janet Flanner to disregard certain of his judgments which favor Pétain in correction of what I have just told. At the end of his life, my old friend lived in the rue Franklin almost in isolation. Pétain often came to visit him, flattered and made much of him, bringing him the last communiqué of the war nicely framed. In this way he managed to attenuate somewhat the justifiable mistrust that Clemenceau had shown him during the hostilities. In arguments with Foch, Clemenceau was, as is human, given to praising Pétain at the expense of the commander-in-chief.

The day that Pétain was named Marshal, general Weygand declared, "We kept him all through the war in the path of honor by an occasional kick in the pants." Weygand despised Pétain who in turn hated him sullenly, after his own fashion, as the following anecdote bears witness, related to me by one of the officers of his Cabinet when he was Minister of War under Gaston Doumergue. "You would never guess, Buré," he said, "how far the hypocrisy of Pétain goes. He was always telling us that he would get rid of Weygand. The other morning, Weygand came to see him and he all but embraced him. We all felt uncomfortable. But before Weygand left, Pétain said to him, looking around at us, "Ah, my dear general, if I listened to them I would have forced you to resign long ago." At that we almost fell over backward.

Pétain is so deceptive that I thought for a long time, up to the day when he was named Ambassador to Franco, that he was defeatist, but a loyalist. Hadn't Republican heads who followed Painlevé shown regard for him? He plotted their downfall, and the downfall of the regime of their choice, while smiling upon them. He got the better of them, but in getting them he almost got France. Janet Flanner offers us the proof, read it. . . .

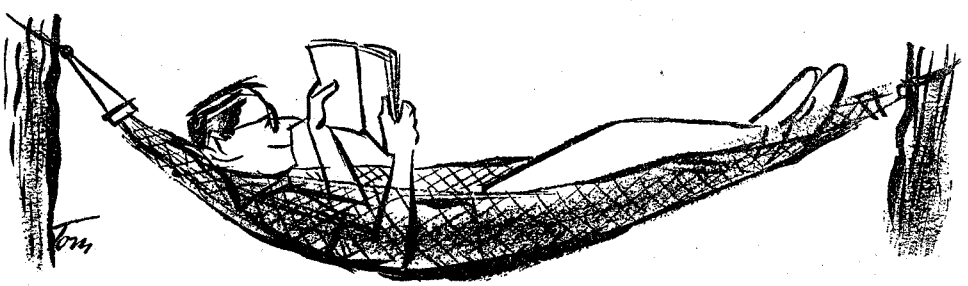
Her last chapter which denounces the poverty of Vichy ideologies is dramatic. The government of the Marshal and his "counter-revolutionary brain trust" will have done much to establish the Republic definitively in France and to make it invulnerable: it has a perfect record of stupidity and hatefulness combined, for the instruction of all Frenchmen.

In 1941 a biography of Charles de Gaulle by Philippe Barrès was published. It is a book that everyone should have in his library. But from 1941 to 1944, there have been many events, upsets and reverses, which have affected the General's story. At present, when victory is dawning, it is worth observing that what de Gaulle said four years ago has been precisely accomplished. André Riveloup, the author of "The Truth about de Gaulle," has understood this. His book carries a preface by Edgar Ansel Mowrer, American devotee of de Gaulle from the very first hour.

Charles de Gaulle, exceptional military man even before he became an exceptional political figure, lacks only photogenic qualities. When he came to New York, everybody cried out in unison, "But that is not the man whose picture we have seen, arrogant, decisive, stern. . . ."

Good people, when you want to kill your dog, just say he is mad! Charles de Gaulle has been maligned by those who found him in their way, by those who, consciously or unconsciously, honestly or not, considered that France must be relegated to the rank of a second class power, by those also who, defenders of a backward and devastating capitalism, saw in Pétain and his minions their natural supporters. The extraordinary thing is that there should have been Frenchmen in exile to support these maligners. De Gaulle's speeches and acts prove that he is without class prejudice, without partisanship. He has no political past to defend, a thing which is essential. No man can replace him, no program is better than his, expressed in these simple words: give the people of France a chance to express their will in orderly fashion, and according to principles of justice.

EMILE BURÉ



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WHO'S WHO IN THIS ISSUE

Our symposium on Science and Philosophy in the Postwar World includes contributions from men of outstanding reputation in their fields. *ALBERT EINSTEIN,* whose scientific activities compare in importance with those of a Newton or a Galileo, needs no introduction to any audience in the world. He was interviewed by Milos Safranek, a member of our International Editorial Board. *OLIVER L. REISER,* Professor of Philosophy at Pittsburgh University, is the author of many philosophical works, among them *Philosophy and the Concepts of Modern Science, The Promise of Scientific Humanism* and *A New Earth and a New Humanity.* He is also a member of the Research Committee on Integration in the Sciences and Humanities. *C. H. WADDINGTON,* Fellow of Christ's College (Cambridge, England), has devoted much of his time to research on the changes undergone by living things. He is the author of *How Animals Develop, Introduction to Modern Genetics, Science and Ethics* and *The Scientific Attitude.*

An analysis of Sir William Beveridge's forthcoming report on "Free Employment in a Free Society" is herein presented by *HONOR BALFOUR,* an English journalist who specialized in political and industrial subjects, and who assisted Sir William in this important study. *MISS BALFOUR* contested a wartime By-election as an Independent Liberal candidate—to be defeated by only seventy votes. The General Election finds her a Liberal candidate for the same constituency (Darwin in Lancashire).

Our readers have no doubt identified the drawing on our cover as the work of *JEAN CARLU,* for this is the third time this distinguished French artist has done the cover design for FREE WORLD in recent months. His application of modern ideas and techniques has greatly influenced contemporary advertising and poster art and won him an international reputation as a poster artist. Formerly art director of the French Ministry of Information, *CARLU* came to America in 1940 to arrange the France-at-War Room in the French Pavilion at the World's Fair, and has since remained.

CHARLES A. DAVILA, who wrote "Prodigal Romania Returns to Her Allies," is former Minister of Romania to the United States. He resigned his post because of the pro-fascist policy of the Romanian Government and has always advocated that Romania quit the side of the Nazis. *MR. DAVILA* is the leader of the Romania Democrats abroad and Honorary President of the Romanian American Alliance for Democracy, a body which includes 90 organizations and represents the great majority of the 300,000 Americans of Romanian origin.

"Mankind Against the Sky," our poem in this issue, was written by *ERNEST G. HEISSENBUTTEL,* Chairman of the English Department at Thiel College. He turned from following a newspaper career to teaching, and previous to his present position was assistant professor of English at Gettysburg College.

The suppression of the free press—as was so clearly demonstrated on the European Continent—is one of the first indications that fascism has taken root. With the disappearance of this freedom in Argentina clandestine publications began to circulate. *GUILLERMO KORN,* the noted Argentine writer, published many of these secret papers until the police, who hunted down the hiding place of his printing office, forced him to flee to Montevideo.

During most of his life *LI YU YING* has worked to bring about a better understanding between the West and the East. One of the founders of modern China, he is President of the National Academy of Peiping, and can justly be hailed as an inspiration to the new generation now carrying on the heavy burden of the war against Japanese aggression. *LI YU YING* is a member of FREE WORLD's honorary board and a founder of the World Confederation of International Groupments.

JEAN LYON, the author of "War—As It Looks to China's 'Little' Man" was born in China, the daughter of American missionaries. She left the Orient at an early age to come to the United States, where she spent most of her life. In 1943 she again returned to China, this time to work for the Chinese Ministry of Information. After graduating from Wellesley College, *MISS LYON* turned to journalism, writing feature stories for the New York *Sun* and contributing articles to many publications.

JAMES E. MURRAY, Democratic Senator from Montana, has represented his state in the United States Senate since 1934 when he was elected to fill out the unexpired term of the late Thomas J. Walsh. Last month he introduced his bill for an MVA project in the Senate in the hope that the Missouri might be controlled and serve the nation as the TVA has so successfully done in the past few years.

One of the foremost economists of today, *ROBERT ROY NATHAN* was formerly Chairman of the Planning Committee of the War Pro-

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duction Board. He is now serving as consulting economist for the French Committee of National Liberation and is working on a study. "The Economic Potentialities of Palestine."

Following "The History of the Mannesmann Concern" which appeared in our March issue, *ALBERT NORDEN* now further exposes the activities of trusts which benefited so greatly by Hitler's domestic and foreign policy in "No Peace for Such as These." *MR. NORDEN,* a German newspaper man, who fled Hitler and nazism, is at present a defense worker near New York, and the author of the pamphlet, "The Things of Europe."

In this issue *R. J. THOMAS,* President of the United Automobile Workers of America, writes of his trip to the fighting fronts. He entered the automobile industry in 1923 and rapidly became a leader of auto workers and is one of the founders of the UAW-CIO, which he has headed since 1939. In addition to being a vice-president and a member of the National Executive Board of the CIO, *MR. THOMAS* is an employee member of the War Labor Board.

The report on the Greek Underground is written by *BASIL VLAVIANOS,* editor and publisher of the *National Herald,* progressive Greek daily newspaper. He was a student of law and political science at the universities of Athens, Leipzig, Munich and Paris and has often represented Greece at various International Congresses.

Our Book Review Section

EMILE BURE was Chief of the Cabinet under Aristide Briand, and for many years editor of *L'Ordre.* He fought with conspicuous courage against fascism and advocated cooperation between the Democracies and Soviet Russia against aggression. While we are going to press, Mr. Buré has just left for France.

For twenty years *JOHN GOETTE* was in the Far East as correspondent for the International News Service and the Daily Express. Taken prisoner by the Japanese after Pearl Harbor he was recently repatriated from Tokyo, and since his return to the United States has spent much of his time on the lecture platform and in writing his recently published book, *Japan Fights for Asia.*

Before Hitler seized power *LEO LANIA* was a newspaper man and writer in Germany. Among his books published in this country are *The Darkest Hour, Today We Are Brothers* and *The Land of Promise.*

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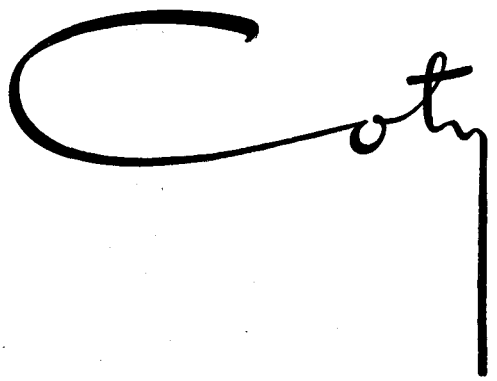

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